The LUTHERAN REFORMATION AND THE JEWS

THE BIRTH OF THE PROTESTANT JEWISH MISSIONS

BY

Aimas K. E. Holmio Th. D.

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The Birth of the Protestant Jewish Missions

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By
ARMAS K. E. HOLMIO, Th. D.

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PREFACE

Several years ago I undertook the gathering of material for a treatise, the subject of which was to be "The Lutheran Reformation and the Birth of the Protestant Foreign Missions". In the first part of the study I planned to explain the attitude of the Reformers toward the Jews and to dilate upon their attempts to win over Israel for the Christian Church. This question, however, turned out to be of such proportions and so distinct from other considerations of missions, that I considered it more practical to confine myself to that alone. The following modest chapters are the result of this work. They were submitted to the School of Theology of the Boston University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Theology.

It becomes a pleasing duty to acknowledge my respectful gratitude to my professors of ecclesiastical history in three universities, at the seminars of each one of whom I have had an opportunity to study the various aspects of questions involving the history of the Reformation: to Professor Richard M. Cameron, Professor Edwin P. Booth and the late Professor George C. Cell of Boston University, to professors George La Piana and J. A. C. F. Auer of Harvard University, to the late Bishop Jaakko Gummerus and Professor Martti Ruut of the University of Helsinki. The writer wishes, also, to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Miss Hanna Peterson, A.M., for her most willing cooperation in the preparation of the manuscript for this text.

Armas K. E. Holmio

Suomi College
Hancock, Michigan
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CHAPTER ONE

THE REFORMATION AND JEWISH MISSIONS AS TREATED IN LITERATURE

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No exhaustive presentation has thus far been given of the missionary ideas of the Reformation or of the first Protestant missionary attempts. Even the best of mission histories allow their story to fly in a great arc from the Apostolic Church, the ancient and mediaeval missions, to the Danish-Halle and Moravian mission revival, generally making but brief mention that the Reformation was a stalemate in this respect, or employing sophistry to explain that the Reformation in itself was an overwhelming missionary feat.

Even more unnoticed in mission histories has been the concern of the Reformation with Jewish missions. Not until anti-Semitism became rife in our time did research scholars feel compelled to direct their attention to the Jewish policies of the Reformation, but even then they passed over relatively lightly the question of their missionary concerns over conquering Israel. A few comparatively modest attempts to dilate on the question seem, too, to have been dismissed without further notice by mission historians.

In the older continental mission literature,[1] by which we mean that prior to Gustav Plitt and Gustav Warneck, the author of this treatise has sought in vain for brief mention of the fact that Luther wrote whole books of and for the Jews, that Bucer busied himself with the same problem

or that Münster made outright attempts to win them over to Christianity.[2] The only mention made of missionary attempts of the time of the Reformation are short references to the mission of Gustav Vasa to the Lapps and to the expedition to Brazil of the Huguenots,[3] or some brief quotation from the writings of Luther or of Erasmus.[4]

In seeking a historical foundation for missionary work in the Anglo-Saxon world, any appeal to the great Reformers of the continent would not come into question to the extent that it would in Lutheran countries. In the Anglo-Saxon lands Luther seemed in many ways more remote, and Calvin and the Oxford Reformers, again, offer comparatively little material in this respect. The growing colonial power of England and especially the daily contact of the American colonies with the Indians do not lead to theoretical dissertations on the opinions of the fathers of doctrine. The question becomes far simpler. The opportunities for missionary work are at hand. Shall we take heed of them? In older English missionary literature, therefore, two motives urging to activity assume the forefront: the straight command of the Bible and the spiritual distress of the non-Christian world.

This becomes clearly evident already in the earliest English writing on missions to come into the possession of the writer of this study; namely, in George Fox's "The Promise of God Proclaimed; Which is Christ the everlasting Covenant of God to the Jew, Gentiles, etc.",[5] in which Fox enumerates England's colonies of that time and picks some thirty quotations from the Bible to bear upon the idea of missions among the heathen and the Jews.

For the first time in English missionary literature we encounter mention of the Reformation and the Jews in a rather unusual connection. Increase Mather (1639—1723),

President of Harvard College, writes pamphlets touching upon various and sundry amazing topics, such as "comets and remarkable earthquakes", on "profane and promiscuous dancing", on angels, and so forth. Among these pamphlets is one called "A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation". The work is printed in London in 1709, but dated in Boston in 1695. In the beginning of the book there are vague tales of the conversion of Jews in the 1500's and an exaggerated reference to the Reformers' hopes in this respect, but then the narrative shunts off into the Apocalypse. Richard Baxter, against whom Mather wrote his book, had written that "when the Empire of the World fell into Christian hands, that then the Fulness of the Gentiles came in". Mather says that one could argue with as good reason that the times of the Gentiles were fulfilled[6] with the Reformation, when "the Crowned Heads" took to the defense of the Gospel. He comes to a different result in the end, however. "The last Half Time", (180 years), "began in the year 1530, when the Protestant name began." The end of the world, therefore, was to come in 1710. But Mather did not develop further his ideas of what part the Reformation and the Jews played in this respect.[7]

In the sermons preached at anniversary meetings of missionary societies we sometimes encounter references to the heritage from the Reformation.[8] But when the societies in question are heathen mission societies, the relation of the Reformers to the Jews are naturally not mentioned.

The first history of missions written in English appeared in 1814, with the Scotch physician and minister William Brown as author. It was called "The History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation".[9] Brown's history of missions served as inter-

mediary between the Anglo-Saxon world and Fabricius' "Lux Salutaris". It came in new editions decade after decade until the appearance of George Smith's history of missions. Brown's work, consisting of over a thousand pages excludes the Catholic missions, since "Popery is anti-Christian in its nature". Starting from this basis, his first sentence is clear: "At the Reformation, the light of the gospel burst forth on the nations of Europe, like the sun in the morning after a dark night." Following Fabricius he mentions Villegaignon's expedition to Brazil and the beginnings of the Lapp mission, but does not touch upon Jewish missions.

After the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on June 29, 1810, the printed literature on missions begins to increase rapidly in America. Being based after the fashion of the London Missionary Society upon a general church basis, the earlier literature put out by the American Board does not concern itself with the propounding of the historical continuity of missionary work.[10] The same is true of the older mission literature of other American missionary societies as well.

The first attempt as such to clarify the missionary concerns of the Reformation was made by Gustav Plitt in 1871, who was acting as professor of theology, pro tem, at the University of Erlangen, by publishing a 327-page history of Lutheran missions. [11] The work is made up of the series of lectures delivered at the University. His intention was to supplement the lectures in another series, but the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War interrupted his teaching and so Plitt prepared his 18 lectures into form for publication. The title of the first lecture already indicates the trend of Plitt's thought: "How Luther Conceived and Effected the Christian Duty of Missions".[12] Plitt can not

swallow the idea that there might have been something imperfect in Luther, who restored the Word of God to its pedestal. How could he have overlooked (übersehen) so specific a command of the Lord as is that of missionary work! As evidence of Luther's missionary concerns he enumerates a series of arbitrarily chosen statements of the Reformer which are torn out of the context of his utterances. In the second lecture of Plitt's book, written in popular vein, Luther's relation to the Jews and to Jewish missions is taken under treatment, without anything being brought forward which would clarify the subject. Through numerous quotations from Luther's books Plitt succeeds, however, in making Luther appear as a friend of the Jews whose conversion was a matter of grave concern to him.[13]

In 1875 Plitt was named professor of church history at Erlangen. His promising career in the beginnings of missionary history, faults notwithstanding, was cut short by his premature death in 1880 at the age of only 42.

Plitt's contemporary, Theodore Christlieb (1833—1889), professor of theology at the University of Bonn, was an industrious writer on missions. But when it came to treating the era of the Reformation, his presentation moves wholly along the uncritical lines followed by Plitt, as is evidenced by this statement from his book "Der Missionsberuf des evangelischen Deutschlands nach Idee und Geschichte": [14] "How often Luther recalls to believers the misery of the pagans and the Turks, how earnestly he exhorts to pray for them and even to send preachers to them! And how he has rightly been called the first missionary to the Jews because of his book 'Das Jesus Christ ein geborner Jude sei' (1523) in the second part of which he expatiates on the question of 'How the Jews should be treated in order that they might be converted'."[15]

Gustav Warneck (b. March 6, 1834, d. Dec. 26, 1910), the father of Protestant missions-historical research, is the first to base his studies upon purely scientific foundations. While acting as parson in Rothenschirmbach, near Eisleben, he began his vast and fruitful productivity, continuing it in Halle, whither he was called as professor of the science of missions in 1897. His most important works are "Abriss einer Geschichte der prot. Missionen" which appeared in 1882,[16] and the 5-volume "Evangelische Missionslehre, ein missionstheoretischer Versuch" which came out from 1892 —1903.[17]

Warneck rejects Ostertag's, Plitt's and Christlieb's theories of the Reformation as a specific missionary accomplishment, though he admits that "by the Reformation the Christianizing of a large part of Europe was first completed". This, however, was by no means missionary work, but merely the educating and immersing more deeply in the Christian faith of peoples who were already Christian. Warneck does not see any missionary mind in the Reformers: "We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, even the idea of missions. — — — fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction. This fact surprises us in the case of so great witnesses for God; it pains us."[18] The significance of the Reformation to missionary work, according to Warneck, was that it laid the foundation from which the evangelical missionary sermon might in time rise.[19]

The Jewish missionary interests of the Lutheran Reformers as well as the whole subject of Jewish missions are wholly lacking from the picture drawn by Warneck of different stages of missionary activity. To be sure he quotes two of Bucer's statements in which Bucer prays that the

Church might have faithful elders who would not forget the Jews or Turks (dwelling within its precincts). But he mentions this only in order to note that there is no question of any missionary activity in this case: "Of the duty of instituting missions, Bucer, too, knows nothing."[20]

In the "Evangelische Missionslehre" Warneck defines as the objective of missionary activity "the whole non-Christian world insofar as it comprises the Jews, Mohammedans and pagans".[21] But after making this definition he becomes silent on the subject of the Jews. Warneck's purpose very evidently is to say that the Jews are included in the objects of missionary activity if they dwell in some pagan land. His definition of missionary work presupposes that missionaries really be sent outside of the borders of their own country and outside of the precincts of their own church.[22] Inner missions or home missions are not really missionary activities proper according to his idea, any more than colonial missions if they are directed to the white populace. They are merely the fulfilling of the Church's calling within its own boundaries.

The fact that in his two chief works Warneck, practically viewed, excludes all Jewish missions from mission-history and the doctrine of missions, is explained by the principle embraced by him which he sets forth in an earlier study: "Die apostolische und die moderne Mission. Eine apologetische Parallele."[23] In speaking of the missionary activity of the Apostolic Church he says that he passes over the great results of the first evangelical Jewish sermon, meaning thereby the Pentecost sermon of Peter, "since there can scarcely be question here of missionary work proper, since these Jewish-Christians were people who had 'awaited the consolation of Israel'".[24] The Apostles only gathered the crop which had sprung up from the sowing of the Old

Testament and of Jesus. And thus does Warneck confine his presentation to the comparing of the pagan missions of the Apostolic Church and those of the modern church. According to his idea, therefore, the Jewish world is no untilled field, but one which has been plowed by the law and the prophets; and the sowing of the seed of the Gospel into it is evidently inner mission.

Otto Hardeland, who republished Plitt's history,[25] gives Plitt's theory vigorous support in the introduction to the II Part against Warneck's criticism. As concerns the Jewish mission activities of the Reformers, however, he leans in practice toward Warneck's ideas in leaving out wholly the chapter in Plitt which deals with the Jews. Warneck's stand on both questions, namely in considering the mission interest of the Reformers of small import and in leaving out the subject of Jewish missions from the general history of missions has remained the prevailing one in the general literature on missions, [26] with the exception of a few instances in which Plitt's viewpoint is partly kept alive.[27]

A noteworthy forward step in the progress of the study in question is represented by Heinrich Frick's work "Die evangelische Mission. Ursprung. Geschichte. Ziel."[28] He proceeds from the thought that the Lutheran Reformation not only laid the foundation from which subsequent evangelical mission work arose, but also by means of its mission ideas and its attempts at mission work, humble though they were and in which he includes first of all the Jewish policies of the Reformers, really initiated missionary work. It is to Frick's undeniable credit that, contrary to Warneck and Richter, he makes Jewish missions an integral part of foreign missions. As far as the handling of the matter itself in Frick's work is concerned, however, there is occasion for weighty comment. Luther's ideas on Jewish mis-

sions are inadequately acknowledged, whereas the significance of Bucer in this respect is exaggerated.[29] Clearly mistaken is also Frick's basic conception of the whole progress of the history of missions when he confines it to the contrasts "Mission oder Propaganda".[30] Lutheran activity among non-Christians for their conversion is "mission", whereas the work of the Catholics and of the Reformed is "propaganda"! According to that the mission attempt of the Huguenots in Brazil is propaganda of Calvinism and Bucer's Jewish policy is mission work.

A series of minor tracts and other brief presentations have sprung up from the purely Jewish mission activity basis, in which Luther's attitude to the Jews is considered. These are, however, generally nothing more than collections of quotations arranged in popular vein, according to the manner of Plitt, which are not intended as any scientific solution of the question.

Numerous presentations of Jewish history, written by Christian authors, naturally touch upon the Jewish policy of the Reformation, but generally ignore the part of missions in it. Thus wrote Henry Hart Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, in his widely used "History of the Jews", published in 1829, that Luther's works on the Jews were "curious but most painful to read".[31] He depicted the attitude of the Reformation toward the Jews as downright hostile. Even the more modern historians come to much the same conclusions.[32]

Catholic historians again, when they touch at all on the question, naturally do not see, or do not want to see, the mission ideas of Luther and his supporters. Thus, for example, the Jesuit Hartman Grisar presents Luther's three last Jewish works merely as attacks on the Jews.[33]

Viewed from a Christian standpoint, the treatment of the subject in the studies of Jewish writers is just as unsatisfactory. The most noteworthy of these is Heinrich Hirsch Graetz (1817—91), who was professor of history at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau. Graetz belonged to those historians of the last century who served the rising nationalistic trends, such as Guizot in France, Macaulay in England, Treitschke in Germany and Karamzin in Russia. His history of the Jews, in 9 volumes,[34] is still usable, but in accordance with the general weakness of this school of historians, exaggerates the significance of his own nation at the expense of the others. Thus, for instance, he makes the Jews out to be pioneers of the Reformation, who received nothing but overbearing treatment at the hands of Luther. The question is reviewed in the same spirit by such writers as Lewis Browne,[35] for example, who parallels Luther's development with regard to the Jewish question with Mohammed's corresponding development;[36] and Georg Bösel, who maintains that it is a false attempt to try to "glorify the Reformation with exercising tolerance toward the Jews".[37]

Interesting, though one-sided, is the attempt of Ludwig Feilchenfeld in the Life of Josel of Rosheim[38] to solve the riddle of Luther's Jewish policy. According to him, Luther became an arch-enemy of the Jews after having been disappointed in his efforts to convert them.[39] Reinhold Lewin arrives at the same conclusion in his otherwise praiseworthy study "Luthers Stellung zu den Juden",[40] the writing of which was directed by the Catholic professor Kampers. Even in this study, which contains, however, many valuable observations, Luther remains a violent enemy of the Jews. According to Lewin, he might in a large part be credited with the anti-Semitism of Germany.[41] Josef Katzenstein,

who writes under the pseudonym of "Josef Kastein", deplores the fact in his otherwise interesting work "History and Destiny of the Jews",[42] of how from Paul's to Luther's time "fanatical missionary zeal" was ready to resort to forceful measures in the converting of the Jews. It would be easy to continue the list. But these few examples suffice to indicate that it is difficult for Jewish writers to move without tripping over the many stumbling stones which Luther has really thrown in their path.

This is certainly not to be wondered at when we take into consideration the manner in which modern anti-Semitic literature has used and continues to use Martin Luther's name. This literature begins in 1873 when a serious economic crisis prevailed in Germany and Austria. The Jews began to be accused of being responsible for it. Wilhelm Marr, a newspaperman of Hamburg, published a book "The Victory of Judaism over Germanism" in which he pursued the national state ideas of Hegel: that those of the same language and the same race belonged to the same state. This theory shut out the Jews in principle from the newly emerging German state[43] which theory in Hitler's Germany gained the practical manifestations.

After Marr's sensational book innumerable anti-Semitic works have appeared mostly in Germany, but also in other countries, based on the German models. The most widely circulated is probably Theodor Fritsch's "Handbuch der Judenfrage" of which up to 1935 there had appeared 38 editions. Dr. Alfred Falb's "Luther und die Juden"[44] which presents anti-Semitism as a duty of Christians is a good sample of the literature of this trend which concerns itself with Luther's Jewish policy.

But answering works which have been friendly to the Jews have not been lacking either. For example, Professor

Wilhelm Walther published a pamphlet called "Luther und die Juden und die Antisemiten"[45] as criticism of Falb's work and in opposition to the earlier mentioned book by Lewin, in which he tries to explain Luther's anti-Jewish pronouncements as having arisen out of the purpose of protecting the Christian faith. But from the very nature of the thing it follows that literature of this tendency, often as it may mention Luther and the Reformation, can not aid greatly in clearing up the mission ideas of the Reformers.

These few examples from different sources, from mission historians, anti-Semitic writers, friends of Jews and attempts in other directions to cast light upon the Jewish policy of the Lutheran Reformers and their efforts to win over the Jews, may suffice to show that the question is still open and that the purpose of this study is therefore justified.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ATTITUDE OF CATHOLIC EUROPE TOWARD THE JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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Before one can understand the attitude taken toward the Jews at the time of the Reformation and the surprising turns it took, a short glance must be cast at the states of mind which Mediaeval Europe entertained toward Israel.

The mediaeval history of the Jews is a tale of well-nigh ceaseless persecutions and exilings; and even when life was fairly peaceful and safe for them, they were, nevertheless, shunned. The assertion of Tacitus that they were the enemies of mankind, persisted from one century to another.

In searching for reasons for the present anti-Semitic raging, as well as for former ones, the basic causes generally offered by literature dealing with the Jews are the economic factors: the Jewish money-lending and the practice of usury. The Mosaic admonition not to lend upon usury to thy "brother"[1] had found its way into the Canon Law. As the Jews were not subject to Canon Law, the restriction thus imposed upon Christians became in practice a Jewish prerogative. According to the general notion prevailing in the Middle Ages, money could not produce money. To profit through money, either by usury, or accepting other compensation was sinful greed, if not outright robbery.[2] There was still another reason which drove Jews to money-lending, the insecurity of their existence, the ever-present threat of exile and the oft recurring confiscation of property which made the owning of anything risky; money was

easier to hide and to take away. The Jews obtained many clients, especially in the countries of Central Europe where there was little money in circulation. In some sections the whole populace from princes to peasants were in their debt. Some thought of destroying evidence of such indebtedness as well as of exiling the creditors may at times have acted as an added spur in the anti-Jewish agitation, though it did not serve as a general cause of the persecutions.

A greater cause, however, was superstitious fear and religious fanaticism. The Jews were a strange people with alien customs and a strange language that bore a mystic sanctity as emblem.[3] They seemed to be hemmed in by an unscalable wall which only the imagination could penetrate.

The Jews headed the vanguard of progress in medicine, the principal seats of their medicinal research being Montpellier and Salerno, and were the first to free it from the bonds of superstition. But to the mediaeval conception medicine and magic were Siamese twins. Where a Jewish or some other physician functioned, there the income of monks and the lower clergy from the fees for prayers and relics decreased, arousing jealousy and hate. Epidemics and plagues were eagerly laid to the influence of the Jews.

Parallelling and intermingling with this superstitious fear was a powerful religious fanaticism. At Eastertide especially, "the Old Crime" of the Jews was brought to mind. In many places a straw "Judas" was burned during Holy Week. But at times a straw symbol was not enough to satisfy the crowd's lust for blood. The mysterious synagogue recalled anew the battle waged against Jesus by the ancient Pharisees. Just as the secret rites of the early Chris-

tians had inflamed the imaginations of the pagans, in the same manner did the secret rituals of the synagogue invoke tales of the children of Christians being slaughtered therein, and of the Sacred Host being pounded in a pestle until it oozed blood. Among the major sins of the Jews as recounted by Petrus Venerabilis was their purchasing of stolen sacramental vessels; but he overlooked the fact of the oft reiterated command issued to priests against the pawning or selling of the sacred vessels of the Church.

Suspicion and hate were further aggravated by the fact that comparatively great freedom of life was granted Jews in Islamic countries. The common Semitic blood and the severely monotheistic religion drew them toward the Arabs. They played an important part in the Semitic renaissance. In the Jewish schools and universities, especially in Spain, along with the Talmudic and Cabbalistic theology, Greek philosophy was studied as well, especially that "pupil of Solomon", Aristotle. Many Jewish schools were on a par with the highest culture of the age, taking pride in such names as: Abu-Yssuf Chasdai, Jehuda Halevi and Moses Maimonides. A large share of the honor tendered directly to the Arabs as transmitters of Greek culture belongs in reality to the Spanish Jews.

The European Jews kept up lively intercourse with the schools and great Jewish centers of Bagdad and Babylon. The rich regularly sent their sons thither to study rabbinical theology. And when questions arose involving the law, tradition or ceremonies, the synagogues sent delegations to the schools of Babylon and Persia, whose decisions were considered final. The Moors and the Turks took a tolerant attitude toward the Jews. It is no wonder that all this was interpreted as a secret conspiracy against the sacred cause of the Christians, or that Petrus Venerabilis,

Abbot of Cluny, should have inveighed against his contemporaries for waging war against the Saracens while sparing the godless Jews.

The superstitious, religious and political hate directed against the Jews rose to its greatest fury during the period of the Crusades. As the Crusaders roamed over Europe to their various bivouacs, they poured out their bigoted zeal on the Jews who, in their estimation, were as fully enemies of the Holy Sepulchre as the Mohammedans. During the First Crusade Verdun, Treves, Spires, Metz, Cologne, Mayence, Worms and Strassburg are mentioned as the scenes of baptisms of blood. The approach of the army of the Crusaders frightened the Jews to wholesale flight. Milman recounts[4] that the war-cry against the Jews was "Hep" which word was compounded of the first letters of the words: Hierosolyma est perdita. The voices of St. Bernard and others of his kind were raised in vain on behalf of the Jews.

The scene of the next serious persecution was England. The biggest Jewish colonies did not come into being in England until the time of William the Conqueror and later when increasing trade saw a welcome aid in Jewish capital. The Jewish quarters were under the direct supervision of the King, outside the jurisdiction of the common law. The first general persecution of the Jews broke out during the coronation of Richard Coeur de Lion in 1189 despite the King's valiant precautions. John Lackland confiscated all Jewish property that he could lay his hands on, but treated all others very harshly who tried to poach on the same preserves. The Church battled without respite against English Jews, until Honorius IV finally succeeded in destroying them. His epistles to the English bishops in 1286 urged more stringent spiritual and temporal punish-

ments against the "accursed and perfidious" Jews. Urged on by monks and priests the populace demanded more and more insistently that the King adopt decisive measures. On July 18, 1290 Edward I issued a decree which called upon Jews to leave the country before All Saints Day upon penalty of death. Almost all of England's 16,000 Jews fled; part into Flanders, part into France, but most into Spain. In all quiet, however, a small Jewish community survived in England until Cromwell, the Protector, allowed Jews to return.[5] — France was likewise rid of all Jews in the 1320's by means of a similar persecution.

The ghastly years of the Black Plague (1348—1350) were especially direful for the Jews. The rumor started that they poisoned wells, lakes and rivers and that they had conspired to put an end to all Christendom by means of the Plague and that the ingredients of the poison-brew were spiders, lizards, frogs, human flesh and the dough out of which the Sacred Host was compounded. Through torture of some Jews in Spain an affirmation was forced to these accusations. The first baptisms of blood took place in northern Spain in the summer of 1348. In September the crest of the wave had reached Switzerland where Villeneuve, Bern and Zürich were the chief centers of persecution. By October it was the turn of Bavaria and streams of Jewish blood flowed through Augsburg, Würzburg, and Munich. Early in 1349 the movement spread to the Rhine where the Jewish colonies of Spires, Strassburg, Worms, Frankfurt, Mayence and Cologne were annihilated among others. The last to feel the effects were Berlin, Magdeburg and Erfurt. There where cooler-headed officials tried to prevent the raging of the rabble, their opposition was weakened by the accusation that they were being bribed by the Jews.[6] No one stopped to ponder the fact that death raged even

there where not a single Jew lived and that where they were to be found there they died in like manner with the Christians. The sufferings of German Jews of this period are pictured by Rabbi Joshua in the following words: "And in Ashkenaz (Germany) they accused them of casting poison into the wells. And they chastened them with rods and with thorns, and burned them with fire. May the Lord avenge the blood of His servants that was shed. Amen! Amen!"[7]

The scene of the third great persecution was the Iberian peninsula, the Hebrew "Sphard", which was the headquarters not only of the Jews of Southern Europe but of the whole continent. The trials of the Jews with the Christians began when King John II of Castile published 24 articles against the Jews in 1412 forbidding them among other things to function as doctors and apothecaries. The Jews, however, were strong enough, so that these laws were left for the most part unforced. The situation began to grow so menacing, however, that considerable numbers joined the Church for self-protection. When persecutions broke out, for example, in the reign of Henry IV, the King of Castile (d. 1474), the "Conversos" as well as the unconverted defended their rights by force of arms. The situation grew increasingly critical until the decrees of expulsion of 1492 in Spain and of 1496 in Portugal split asunder the flourishing Jewish world of the Iberian peninsula. Bits of it flew literally into all four corners of the world: to Egypt and Syria and Turkey in the East, to Morocco and Algiers in the South, to Holland and Germany in the North, and even to new-found America in the remote West. Pope Alexander VI praised the Catholic zeal of Ferdinand and Isabella in public and in private derided their stupidity when the persecutions in Spain brought hundreds of rich

Jews even to Rome to be taxed by him. The chief groups of Spanish Jews fled to the East. But even the lands of Central Europe, especially Germany, saw the population of its ghettos increasing by Sephardim, which designation is still a title of honor given to descendants of fugitives from Spain and Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages.[8] It was this great increase of the number of the Jews in Germany which in the beginning of the 16th century made the Jewish question a burning one and directed the attention of the Dominicans and the Humanists and, finally, of the Lutheran Reformation to them.

Jewish historians picture the attitude of the Church toward their people as antagonistic. It is easy for them to find an almost limitless supply of supporting evidence beginning with the pronouncements of the Church Fathers. For example, even Ambrose treated the Jews severely, but the Emperor Theodosius protected them against the zealous bishop. Among the most famous anti-Jewish writers of the mediaeval church was the Spaniard Martin Raymond (died after 1284) who began the century-long Dominican war of words against the Jews. In 1264 he was appointed member of a committee which was to investigate Hebraic books, expunging therefrom all anti-Christian excerpts, construed as such. He wrote two books involving this pursuit: "Capistrum Judaeorum", "The Muzzle of the Jews", which seemingly has never been published, as well as another which appeared first in print in Paris in 1651 under the title of "Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum Adversus Mauros et Judaeos". "The Muzzle of the Jews" and this "Dagger of Faith" of Martin were the principal sources of material for the Dominicans in their polemics against the Jews.[9] Even more famous for his anti-Jewish sentiments was Nicolaus de Lyra, professor of the-

ology at the Sorbonne, who used the original Hebrew text and not the Vulgate. Lyra wrote three polemic works against the Jews of which the best known are: "De Messia eiusque adventu praeterito" and "Contra Iudaeos", published in 1309.[10]

The attitude of the Church, however, was epressed not only in the occasional literary products but in Papal Bulls and the decrees of Councils reaching back to the earliest Middle Ages. Beginning with Gregory VII the Church took even more stringent measures. After strengthening his position against Henry IV, he let even the Jews feel the increasing power of Papal might. In 1078 he promulgated a law forbidding Jews to hold any public office in Christendom. Two years later, in a letter to Alfonso VI, King of Castile, he deplored the fact that the King, by favoring the Jews, oppressed the Church of Christ and favored the synagogue of Satan.[11] During the reign of Innocent III decrees grew even harsher. The Statutes passed by the Council of Avignon, in 1209, provided among other things that "Jews and harlots should not dare to touch with their hands bread or fruit exposed for sale".[12] Of the seventy canonical decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council four dealt with the Jews. "The enemies of heaven" had to pay tithes to the Church and "present as gift" a certain sum of money at Easter-time. On penalty of being punished for non-compliance they had to wear an easily distinguishable yellow badge on their clothing.[13] This decree which was later time and again re-issued, was fashioned after the Mosaic law: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments, throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribband of blue; And it shall be

unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them."[14] This decree came about through the Jews wearing a habit similar to that of the monks which fact sometimes brought about distressing confusion.[15]

The widespread hating of heretics that was general during the period of the Hussite wars was responsible for the Council of Basel (1431—1443) reviving the anti-Jewish laws of various former councils, as well as promulgating new laws of its own. One of these new ones was the decree that no Jew was to receive academic honors at any university. Another new law, contrary, however, to the present-day principles of race-fanaticism, was the decree which forbade converted Jews from marrying one another. The Capuchin monk, John Capistrano, who, as Papal legate, supervised the enforcing of the decisions of the Council of Basel in Germany, insofar as they concerned the Hussites and heretics in general, was given the added duty of enforcing the laws governing the Jews as well.[16] It did not mitigate the bitter fight against the Jews that every now and then, even though it was seldom, some Christian, perhaps a priest, was converted to the faith of Moses.[17]

It would be an error, however, to interpret the strict attitude of the Church as purely antagonism against the Jews. As singular as it may seem, there was a missionary idea behind the Church's harsh treatment of the Jews as well as in its gory handling of heretics. If the tribulations of mortal life can bend the soul to submission to God and the Church, the missionary command of Christ has been carried out! To be sure, peaceful missionary work among the Jews, based upon the influence of personal conviction, was not unknown. Gregory the Great had forbidden attacks upon the Jews and had favored friendly intercourse

as the best means of converting them.[18] The longest strides in attempts to convert the Jews were made in England, where, in the early 1200's there appeared houses for the reception of Jewish converts. They were purely religious in character and thus missions. Such a one was erected, for instance, in Southwark in 1213. Some time later the Dominicans established a similar one in Oxford. At the instigation of Henry III, the most famous of these was opened in 1233, called the Domus Conversorum, in London, on the site of the present Chancery Lane. The establishment could accommodate some forty residents; but in addition to this, pensions were given out of funds of the house to take care of converts dwelling outside. A priest lived in the house, who often was himself a Jew and who gave instruction in Christianity, aided by other learned Christian-Jews. The purpose was to train missionary workers for the Jews. The year 1290, however, dealt the final blow to the missionary attempt.[19]

Later on in mediaeval times it was customary to send itinerant dialecticians among the Jews on the Continent who penetrated into their business houses and into their homes. Even such a thing could happen that a rabbi, versed in the intricacies of his theology could convince a missionary of the "eternal covenant" made with Abraham[20] as a sufficient basis for salvation. Certainly the warning of Thomas Aquinas was not unwarranted that no one should engage in religious disputation with Jews unless one were sure beforehand of emerging as victor. The often demonstrated superiority of the Jews in knowledege of the Bible and their very evident unwillingness to become converted to Christianity were easily explained as wisdom and stubbornness which were inspirations of the devil and as such to be crushed by force. Thus were brought about

decrees that they must attend church a certain number of times a year in order to hear a sermon specially prepared for them to which all rebuttals were forbidden. During the 14th century Jewish missions were entrusted specifically to the Dominicans who obtained the right to resort to temporal might for aid. Petrus Venerabilis had already favored forcible means of converting, specifically stating that they are to be used "for love".[21]

The political status of the Jew during the Middle Ages was not always as deplorable as one might construe from the foregoing. Many monarchs favored them not only from economic but from political motives as well. Charlemagne allowed the Jewish colonies of Magdeburg, Mersburg and Ratisbon to form and develop freely. Louis the Pious, principally through the influence of his second wife, Judith, followed in his father's footsteps as regarded his political relations with the Jews, granting them the right to have their own court of justice and free trade. Henry IV protected them against Gregory VII.[22]

Frederick II, on the other hand, became known through conforming to the anti-Jewish decrees of the Popes; during his reign the term "Jew-roaster" became almost a title of respect among the rabble. Toward the end of the Crusades German Jews came under the immediate protection of the Emperor. They were "servi camerae" or "Kammerknechte", i.e. "Chamber-servants". To explain the situation it was said that during the siege of Jerusalem they had become prisoners of the Roman Emperor and so his property, which property right had descended down to the German Emperor. Imperial protection naturally had to be bought at an exhorbitant price, through taxes. But then their position became more assured.[23] Poland and Lithuania were the only two countries where Jews had perfect

freedom to exist toward the latter part of the Middle Ages.[24] The Church, however, did not grant emperors rights over the Jews without protest. Thus Aquinas states that "Jews are the slaves of the Church".[25]

When the persecutions occasioned by the Black Plague subsided, princes and city magistrates, because of the ruinous state of their finances, began once more to favor the Jews, the taxing of whom meant a good source of income. The Aurea Bulla, the Golden Bull, the state law of Germany from 1356 mentioned as a special prerogative of the electors, the right to keep Jews on their lands and to tax them.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages the Ghetto system sprang up. In return for a stipulated sum of money or tax, the local ruler, or sometimes the bishop, turned over a certain section of the city or a plot of land to the Jews where they were free to live according to their own laws and subject to specific rules.[26] The focal point of the Ghetto was the synagogue which regulated the whole life of the Jew. "It demanded the pound of flesh, forbade shaving, forbade dancing between the sexes and decreed what styles of clothing should be worn by men and women."

Beth Din, the Jewish religious seat of justice, settled their legal affairs. The synagogue represented them to the outer world and the Talmud governed their spiritual life. Within these four walls of the Talmud, the synagogue, Beth Din and the Ghetto the Jews led their secluded life and sang their lamentations.[27] Without the walls there was threatening might, the Church whose worship of images and doctrine of the Virgin birth were to the Hebraic mind a delusion and a snare and whose language, the Latin, was to them the tongue of the hated burners of the temple.

CHAPTER THREE

HUMANISM RISES TO DEFEND THE JEWS

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The turn of the century did not at first seem to bring any change in the condition of the Jews. Public opinion and the attitude of the Church remained the same, evinced sometimes in local uprisings or persecutions at other times. Occurrences at Cologne and Berlin proved more far-reaching in their consequences.

Cologne was one of the Dominican centers of Germany and at the same time one of the largest Jewish communities in central Europe. Since the whole Dominican Order from the days of Martin Raymund was notoriously anti-Semitic,[1] indeed, the most extreme branch of the Church, it was clear that the truce as far as the Jews of the city were concerned could not be of long duration. When Jacob von Hochstraten became prior of the Dominican monastery at the beginning of the century, a wide-reaching and well-planned persecution of the Jews began. Hochstraten himself was a learned man and a famous Hebrew scholar.[2] By this token the attack which he led against the Jews took the form of a literary battle in which far more than in earlier times physical violence was done away with but in which, on the other hand, the anti-Jewish laws were made so stringent that life was rendered unbearable to those affected by them. Neither missionary nor economic factors were left out of the reckoning. Hochstraten himself remained mostly in the background, letting others share the limelight.

Written polemics began in 1504, when Ortuin de Graes, or Ortunius Gratius (d. 1542), an alumnus of the school at Deventer like Erasmus, published his work "De vita et moribus Judaeorum", "The Life and Customs of the Jews", which immediately appeared in German as well.[3] The book charged them with being stubborn resisters of Christianity. "Even the most ignorant Jew will submit to being burned alive a thousand times rather than acknowledge the name of Jesus." Ortuin was the son of a Catholic priest from Westphalia. The man who had helped him with the preparation of his book and who came to continue the polemics was a converted Jew from Cologne named Victor of Carben (1442—1515).

Carben, although an old man was filled with the zeal of the convert. When the Bishop of Cologne had banished some Jews Carben sent him a communication in which he congratulated the Archbishop for having "plucked away the weeds from his bishopric". Carben wrote two epistles against the brothers of his former faith. In the period from 1504—1508 there appeared in Cologne the "Propugnaculum Fidei Christianae, instar dialogi inter Christianum et Judaeum, in quo quod Jesus verus Messias, verus Deus et homo, totiusque humani generis Salvator sit demonstratur", "The Bulwark of Christianity, in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, in which it is demonstrated that Jesus is the true Messiah, true God and man, the Saviour of all mankind." In 1509 there appeared a work of wider popular appeal, the "Opus aureum ac novum in quo omnes Judaeorum errores manifestantur", "The golden and new work in which are disclosed all the errors of the Jews." This "golden work" whose authorship has also been credited to Ortuin was translated into German.[4]

Meanwhile a new man had appeared on the scene who soon replaced Carben and Gratius. This man was Johannes Pfefferkorn. He was of German-Jewish descent, born in 1469 and dying after 1521. According to the Jewish sources he was a butcher who had been in prison for robbery.[5] At the home of an uncle, a rabbi named Meir, he had come to share in Hebrew learning.[6] With his family he was converted to Christianity in 1505, changing his name at baptism from Josef to Johannes, and moving after that to the protection of the Dominicans. These made him a "superintendent of the city hospital and surveyor of salt". Pfefferkorn now began, "with all a convert's zeal", to engage in the conversion of his brethren according to the flesh. He is said to have taken a friendly attitude toward them and to have defended them against the Christians.[7] His attitude changed very quickly, however, for reasons which we have not been able to find out and he became perhaps the bitterest Jew-baiter of the century.

Pfefferkorn's literary activity began in 1507 when he published his German version of the "Speculum adhortationis judaicae ad Christum", "The Mirror of Exhortation of Jews to Christ". This was translated by Ortuin into Latin. The German version was printed in Nuremberg and bore the title "Die Judenspiegel". The following year "Die Judenbeicht" appeared in Cologne, bearing the Latin name "Libellus de judaica confessione sive sabbate", "A Pamphlet Concerning the Jewish Confession or Sabbath". The rulers were the best defenders of the Jews. Their duty was to banish Jews who were "more dangerous beings than the devil himself". Early in 1509 two works appeared: "Das Osterbuch" or "Narratio de ratione pascha celebrandi inter judaeos recepta", "A Recountal of the Way in which Jews celebrated Easter"; and "Der judenfeind" or "Hostis

judaeorum", "The Foe of the Jews". The tenor of these works was even more fanatitcal than of the earlier ones. The children of the Jews were to be taken from them and to be brought up in the Christian faith;[8] the elders were to be banished as irreconcilables, the Easter epistle demanded. The "Hostis judaeorum" was true to its title. Jews were to be forced to do physical labor, not of the kind that commands respect, but just as in the twentieth century concentration camps, to clean streets, or work as chimney-sweeps, scavengers and less desirable occupations. A special demand was that Jews should be made to give up their books even if torture had to be used to effect this. This demand became the crux of the whole conflict, in behalf of which and against which blows were struck for more than a decade. The idea of confiscating books was no new invention in the Jewish policy of the Dominicans; it had appeared for the first time as early as 1264.[9] Hebrew manuscripts represented large sums of money along with their worth as religious vehicles which fact, for one reason, served to spur on the confiscating.[10]

For the time being, however, Pfefferkorn's books had not aroused much interest, nor succeeded in bringing anything about except uneasiness among the Jews. Hochstraten, however, was in deadly earnest in his fight. The only way to bring the matter to the desired end was to win over the Emperor to oppose the Jews. To appeal directly to the Emperor Maximilian would hardly have helped; probably Hochstraten's delegate would not have gained an audience with the Emperor. The Emperor's sister, Kunigunda was chosen as intermediary. She had been widowed by the death of her consort, Duke Albrecht of Munich in 1508. She had exchanged the ducal palace for the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara in Munich where

she was immediately chosen abbess of the Clarissians. In August of 1509 Pfefferkorn called on the abbess. Kunigunda was soon won over to the cause and provided Pfefferkorn with a letter of commendation to her imperial brother who at that time was still on a military expedition against Venice in Italy. Maximilian who earlier had showed haughtiness toward the Jews residing in his hereditary domains received Pfefferkorn and gave him a mandate on the 19th of August according to which all anti-Christian writings of the Jews were to be destroyed.

On November 10 a new decree followed that all Hebrew works except the Old Testament were to be destroyed. Pfefferkorn returned to Germany after having performed his task admirably. On April 10, 1510, the Jews of Frankfurt-on-the-Main were to give up their books; for some reason the Dominicans had considered it preferable to begin their purge there rather than in Cologne. A month before the appointed day Pfefferkorn published in Cologne a pamphlet in German and Latin in glorification of the Emperor, "In Lib und Ehren dem Kaiser Maximilian", "In laudem et honorem illustrissimi Imperatoris Maximiliani". In it the Emperor was given the humblest thanks for his decrees which had the good of Christendom for their aim and justice as their basis. The suggestion was made that the Jews be forced to fast so that impelled by hunger, they would have to divulge the hiding-places of their books. But the Jews of Frankfurt refused to surrender their books, appealing in the matter to the Emperor. The enforcing of the decree was postponed.[11]

Meanwhile, in 1510, Berlin became the scene of a violent Jewish persecution. A man named Paul Fromm was detained for theft of sacramental bread. According to the custom of the day the occurrence aroused widespread in-

terest. Fromm accused the Jews: they had urged him on to his sacrilegious act. All the Jews of the city were put under arrest and the great trial with its customary torture-involving examinations resulted in 40 of the accused being condemned to death as "guilty" and in the exiling of the rest. Thirty-eight Jews were burned to death, on July 19, and two, Jacob and Joseph, who had been baptized, were shown mercy because of their Christian faith and were beheaded with the sword.[12] Graetz maintains that the Bishop of Brandenburg had urged the ruler Joachim I to this persecution.[13] At least he did nothing to avert it. Brandenburg was free of Jews till 1532.

News of the happenings in Berlin was most welcome to Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans of Cologne. Pfefferkorn states in his work the "Defensio" which appeared in 1516 that after hearing of the desecration of the Host, the Archbishop of Mayence had sent him once more to the court of the Emperor to seek a new mandate against the Jews which according to the writer he succeeded in doing.[14] In all the Jewish communities of Germany the populace lived in fear and trembling, for a general persecution might break out now at any time. Berlin's bloody purge was an example of what harvest the pamphlets sown by the Dominicans might produce.

At this point, however, help came to the Jews which was to have far-reaching effects not only for the Jewish world of central Europe but for wider sections as well. Help came from humanism which for awhile forsook the cubicles of scholars in order to pursue its principles by putting them to practical use. The concern of humanists with Hebrew books and with the saving of their readers was certainly not of sudden birth, but had a history of long progress behind it.

The newly awakened interest in classical antiquity which had had its birth in Italy had aroused a desire to know the Hebrew tongue as well. The New Learning of the Renaissance had gained ground among Jewish scholars there, too. Dante Alighieri's Divine Comedy had been matched by corresponding Hebrew output, and Jews who had fled from Germany had set up Jewish printing establishments that had put into circulation editions of the Old Testament, the Talmud and the commentaries of the Mishna, grammars, dictionaries and philosophic works.

All this had made for lively intercourse between Christian and Jewish scholars and had come to serve the awakening interest of humanists in Hebrew which had not been satisfied to stop with philological observations but had sought to find enlightenment from these new sources for Christian theology. Pico della Mirandola and Pope Sixtus IV (1471—1484) had been particularly zealous in applying cabbalistic wisdom to theology.

The most famous humanist of the time in Germany, Johann Reuchlin (1455—1522) had set out to follow in their footsteps in this respect. He had studied Hebrew at the court of Frederick III at Linz under the direction of the Emperor's Jewish physician Jacob Loans and later in Rome under another Jewish physician named Obadiah Sforno.[15]

In 1494 Reuchlin had published a booklet entitled "Capnion sine de verbo mirifico" in which he had praised Hebrew "in which tongue God had talked with man and men with angels, face to face, without an interpreter". Just as his Italian prototypes, he had sought enlightenment from cabbalistic wisdom for Christianity's riddles.[16] But he had already performed his most notable work in the field of Hebraic philology by publishing his Hebrew gram-

mar in 1506.[17] To be sure, it had not been the first grammar in the lingua sancta published by a Christian. That of Conrad Pellican had appeared two years earlier but as a weak effort had escaped notice. Reuchlin's grammar which, indeed, did not differ from those published by Jews in much more than its Latin terminology, had laid the foundations upon which Protestant activity with Hebrew was to be built and later gained him the honorary designation of "Father of Hebrew Philology".

This man who a year earlier than that of the publication of his grammar had urged in his pamphlet "Doctor johanns Reuchlins tütsch missive, warumb die Juden so lang im ellend sind" that the Jews be treated considerately and kindly so that they might be converted and would acknowledge Jesus as the true Messiah,[18] now brings the weapons of his New Learning in order to try their keenness against the anti-Semitism of the Catholic Church.[19]

When the Jews realized that Pfefferkorn's attacks were a real menace to them they were able by some means or other to get Uriel von Gemmingen, the Archbishop of Cologne, to help them. Through his intercession the Emperor was persuaded to withdraw his edict and to appoint a committee to investigate the charges brought by Pfefferkorn. The following were named on this tribunal: the representatives of the universities of Cologne, Erfurt, Heidelberg and Mayence, Victor von Carben, Hochstraten and Reuchlin. Reuchlin's name was the only one among the number which bore any weight. A sample of the authoritativeness of the body was the pronouncement by the University of Mayence that the Hebrew Bibles did not agree with the Vulgate and were therefore forged. For which reason the Jewish Bibles were to be checked and corrected to conform to the texts of the Church fathers!

Reuchlin gave his written opinion in the late summer and autumn of 1510.[20] The point of departure in his opinion from which he develops his thesis is entirely new; namely that the Jews were "concives nobiscum Romani imperii", fellow-citizens of the Roman Empire, for which reason they had the same political and social rights as the Christians. General opinion still held that they were the "property of the Emperor" into which category they had fallen as hostages of war under Vespasian and Titus. In Reuchlin's opinion, as citizens of the realm they should not be molested. Persecution did not further the cause of their conversion, either, but hindered rather. The only means of influencing them was to convince them. Stricter methods he condoned in only one case. Those of their books which contained specific attacks on Christianity were to be confiscated. He knew, however, of only two such: Lipmann's polemical work and "Toldoth Jeshu", "The Genealogy of Jesus". But even of these he said that the Jews themselves had well-nigh confiscated all of them and had forbidden the reading of them. The greater part of their books were of a kind helpful to theological and philosophical research; For example, the Talmud, Zohar and the works of Rashi and Ibn Ezra. If everthing were stricken out of the commentaries of Lyra which he has appropriated from Rashi, his own original ideas could be condensed to two pages! Reuchlin made mock of men who could not read Hebrew but were ready to pass judgment upon Hebrew books. In his books Pferfferkorn had urged that Jewish children be abducted by force from the parents. Canon Law forbade such procedure Reuchlin affirmed, and continued to add with a clever twist of reason, that a man might love his books as much as his children.[21]

Reuchlin sent his opinion sealed to the Emperor but it was intercepted by Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans. Reuchlin accused Pfefferkorn of having broken the seal. Pfefferkorn defended himself by saying that he had found the letter with the seal already broken on the table of the Archbishop Uriel and that the Archbishop, as Elector, was the Emperor's legal representative in matters such as this. What really occurred is impossible to explain. Small wonder that the Dominicans accused Reuchlin of having betrayed the cause of the Church. The father-confessor to the Emperor asserted that the "Opinion" had been written with "golden ink"; that is, that the Jews had bribed Reuchlin.

Reuchlin's stand and energetic action in the matter had come as a surprise to the Dominicans. Pfefferkorn's rebuttal entitled "Handmirror against the Jews and their writings"[22] did not appear till spring, 1511. Pfefferkorn circulated his book at the spring fair in Frankfurt. The book appealed to the instincts of the rabble and was full of examples of the cunning of the Jews. One example, in brief, was this: In Erfurt there is a zealous beggar-monk who preaches forcefully against the errors of the Jews. A certain rabbi now begins to make gifts to the monastery as penance for his practice of usury. Soon the monk and rabbi are seen walking together on the streets of Erfurt. The monk does zealous proslyting in the dark heart of the rabbi. The next step is the exchange of visits: the Jew visits the monastery and the monk goes to the house of the Jew. The rabbi has a beautiful daughter whom he introduces as an orphan ward and whom he commends to the monk for conversion. The monk falls in love with the girl. When matters have progressed thus far the rabbi confesses that through a youthful transgression he had become the father of the monk and

that his aid was given to the monastery only in order that he might come in contact with his son. The monk now desires to convert his father, but the rabbi explains that this woud be contrary to the Bible which says to the son: Honor thy father, but does not say to the father: Honor thy son. Won over by the heretical logic of the rabbi, the monk joins the Jews, and marries the ward of the rabbi. In the end he is conscience-stricken because of his apostasy, and is tortured to death by the Jews. The moral of the tale is this: Jews can not be converted through convincing; the only result is danger to the soul of the converter.[23] — Pfefferkorn applied harsh words in his book to Reuchlin. The "Handspiegel" is probably the first instance in which the press is used as a weapon against an individual.

Late in August or early in September just at the time of the fair at Frankfurt the "Augenspiegel" or "Ocular Mirror" appeared as Reuchlin's answer in which he accused Pfefferkorn of being a liar and conniver.[24] The Dominicans tried to prohibit its sale but it sold more widely than any of the earlier works in this controversy. The first counter-activity of the Dominicans was Pfefferkorn's sermon against Reuchlin in the vestibule of a certain church in Frankfurt on the 7th of September concluding his sermon with a benediction. For a layman to appear as preacher gave the humanists cause for biting remarks: lay preachers had earlier been burnt at the stake! The frightened Pfefferkorn explained later in his "Defensio" that he had not been preaching about the mysteries of the Church but had been lecturing on usury.

The Dominicans now began to make bolder attacks, even threatening Reuchlin's safety. His friends were mocked at as "Talmudists" and "Judaizers". Hochstraten began to refer

to the Inquisition. Reuchlin replied in careful epistles, trying to smooth out and modify his strongest remarks. Hochstraten demanded that he retract his good words of the Talmud. But Reuchlin stood his ground against threats. On the 3rd of March, 1512, he wrote the following severe words to the Dominians of Cologne: "What would the people say, were I to tell them that you support, favour and raise to the skies that revolutionary renegade, the married layman, the unprincipled calumniator, the baptized Jew, who, contrary to the law of the Church, preached against me in Frankfurt, before an assembly of the faithful, who is even suspected of intending to return to his former brethren-in-faith? That fellow has instigated all these troubles for no other purpose but that of extorting large sums of money from the Jews."[25]

On the 22nd day of the same month Reuchlin published the "42 Articles" in which he repeated his former assertions and defined his stand more specifically. In the converting of the Jews the way to proceed was "auf dem Wege der Gnade, nicht der Tyrannei", "along the path of mercy, not of tyranny". One of the accusations against Reuchlin was the fact that he had called Ortuin Gratius "a semi-heathen". Reuchlin produced for his defense a poem by Ortuin in which he extols the Virgin Mary as the mother of Jupiter. Reuchlin asks whether Jupiter was not an evil spirit according to church theology.

Thus the literary war went on from year to year with Pfefferkorn appealing to force and the instincts of the mob and Reuchlin to tolerance. The original cause of the controversy, the confiscation of Jewish books faded gradually into the background while Reuchlin's personality and opinions became the axis around which the polemics moved.

Was he even orthodox? Was not the "Ocular Mirror" full of false doctrines and ideas inimical to the Church? In 1512 or 1513 Pfefferkorn published "Der Brandspiegel", "The Brand-Mirror, to banish and obliterate a blasphemous book, the Ocular Mirror, which Reuchlin published against me, Pfefferkorn". In this work one could sense that the faggots had already been laid for the burning of humanists at the stake. At the same time Pfefferkorn suggested a means by which the Jewish communities of Ratisbon, Frankfurt and Worms would speedily be done away with: the property of the Jews was to be confiscated and given to the poor, the sick and to monasteries.[26]

The situation began to look menacing to Reuchlin. So he sent a communication to the Emperor dated March 1, 1513. The letter was a forceful presentation of the justice of Reuchlin's cause: as human beings the Jews were our brothers. The Christian emperors, Valentinian and Theodosius had granted them civil rights and Emperor Honorius had promised them protection. Was the German Emperor of Rome now to allow the Dominicans to retract all this?[27]

Maximilian had vacillated the whole while. Obviously relying upon the Emperor's hesitant stand, Hochstraten determined to bring the fight to a close with a decisive blow. He challenged Reuchlin to come to Mayence on the 20th of September to answer before him for his defense of the Jews and his heresy. Hochstraten had gathered opinions from different universities: Louvain and Cologne were in favor of burning the "Ocular Mirror"; Erfurt found nothing dangerous in it; Heidelberg and Mayence made no response. Reuchlin sent a lawyer to represent him. To the disappointment and embarrasssment of Hochstraten, Archbishop Uriel stopped the proceedings. Reuchlin had won

out. Inspired by the victory, Hermann von Busch and Ulrich von Hutten published a poem which depicted Hochstraten and Pfefferkorn chained to Reuchlin's chariot wheels in his triumphal procession.

But the Dominicans were plotting revenge. The situation contiued to be so critical that Reuchlin decided to seek help from Rome. He wrote a letter in Hebrew to Bonet de Lates, the Jewish physician to Pope Leo X, asking that he use his influence to gain the Pope's support.[28] As a result of this, probably, Leo sent a letter to the Bishop of Spires on November 21st, authorizing him to settle the dispute. Bishop George again appointed Thomas Truchess and Schwalbach as investigators and judges. These ordered Reuchlin and Hochstraten to appear at Spires in the course of a month. Reuchlin came but Hochstraten did not. The Dominicans on their part published a new booklet by Pfefferkorn entitled "Die Sturmglocke", "The Storm Bell". The investigating committee announced its decision in the spring of 1514. It was the papal acceptance of Reuchlin and the cause which he represented. The "Ocular Mirror" did not contain false doctrine nor favor the Jews unduly. Hochstraten was ordered to pay the costs of the proceedings.

Meanwhile Arnold de Tongern, the dean of the faculty of theology at Cologne, had joined the fighting ranks of the Dominicans and by his exegetical dissertations tried to give support to their stand.[29] This aid was negligible, however, compared to the added strength which was given to Reuchlin's ranks. Reuchlin had heretofore been alone in the fight. His humanist friends had stood on the side-lines for the most part, with the exception of writing him encouraging letters. In the same year of 1514 when the papal investigators pronounced Reuchlin orthodox, he published a collection of his friends' letters under the title: "Epistolae

illustrium sive clarorum virorum". The purpose of the collection was to indicate that he had a wide following. For truly young Germany had begun to range itself behind Reuchlin with such men as Hutten, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, Pirkheimer, Sickingen and many others whose names became famous in the years following in connection with a greater cause. Among Reuchlin's supporters was also the humanist Johannes Jörger who was known as Crotus Rubianus (c. 1480—1540). He was the head of the monastery school at Fulda from 1510—1515. He is thought to have been the author of the first part of the book which more than anything else molded public opinion into a form that was receptive to new and liberal causes.[30] The "Epistolae obscurorum virorum", "The Letters of Obscure Men", whose writers were monks who decried the customs of the times and in faulty Latin sought advice of their leader, Ortuin Gratius, in all kinds of trivial and absurd matters revolved principally around the Jewish question. As an example: a certain monk, "Magister Joannes Pellifex" writes to his superior in great tribulation of soul; two Jews had walked along the street in Frankfurt dressed so much like monks that he had made the mistake of bowing to them;[31] was this show of deference to Jews a venial or a mortal sin? was he to seek absolution from his bishop or was he to petition for a dispensation from the Pope?[32]

The confiscation of books belonging to Jews was a matter especially close to these monks' hearts. The letters were biting satire directed against the narrow-mindedness of the inhabitants of the monasteries, and against their ignorance and immorality but written with such careful mimicking of the monks' poor Latin and ideas that they at first made the mistake of accrediting them to their own men. The

book made the cause of the Dominicans of Cologne a laughing-stock.

They did not abandon hope, however. Without waiting for the outcome of the investigation entrusted to the Bishop of Spires, the Pope had appointed Cardinal Dominicio Grimani in 1514 to study Reuchlin's case. Grimani was versed in the Cabbala and in rabbinical literature. Hochstraten had arrived in Rome in June of 1514; Reuchlin had received permission to send a representative. Emperor Maximilian, Frederick the Wise of Saxony and others sent letters to Leo X in favor of Reuchlin. Jaques Le Févre d'Etaples was active in his behalf in Paris but could not prevent the University from sending an adverse pronouncement. The opinion of Paris darkened Reuchlin's hopes in Rome, but the "Letters of Obscure Men" came out just in time to balance the scales.[33]

Hochstraten tried now to steal a march on Rome by inviting to Frankfurt in January of 1516 the representatives of certain cities and bishoprics with the idea of getting the Jews banished at least from Frankfurt and Worms. The Emperor, however, took a hand in the matter, reminding him that the Jews were special subjects of his and forbade the continuance of the meeting. The stand taken in Reuchlin's "Opinion" was given practical acceptance. Pfefferkorn, who had been in the background for awhile, now published the "Streydtpeuchlin", "A Strife-pamphlet", which appeared also in Latin under the title "Defensio contra famosas et criminales obscurorum virorum epistolas".[34] The Dominicans had been forced to take the defensive. In the "Defensio", however, there was a picture, among other things, which showed Pfefferkorn with a banner of victory in his hand kicking over a chair of learning upon which was seated the fork-tongued Reuchlin.[35]

This stage of the conflict terminated in a different way, however. Rome rendered a temporary decision in July of 1516, allowing the matter to rest. Even thus it was a victory for Reuchlin and the Jews. It is said that Hochstraten, returning from Rome, was the recipient of a chastising at the hands of Hutten himself.[36] At this time Ulrich von Hutten was already editing a sequel to the "Letters of Obscure Men" which was published the following year. The Jewish question was at the forefront in the second series as well.

The ever-careful Erasmus had kept the role of bystander up to this time. His attitude toward the Jews was one of aloofness. For example, in his "Enchiridion" he had placed the Jews beside his derided monks: life in a monastery was, he said, "gloomy, full of Jewish superstitions".[37] And in his letter to John Colet, in 1504 or 1505, he had scornfully referred to those to whom religion was nothing but "Jewish observances.[38] During the early phases of the controversy with Pfefferkorn he had written as his opinion to Reuchlin that a half-Jewish Christian did more harm to Christianity than all the Jewish books.[39] When the victory began to be apparent on the side of Reuchlin, he wrote his friends some letters in which he openly revealed his opinion of Pfefferkorn which letters, in keeping with the custom of the times, soon became public. He wrote to Pirkheimer in 1517: "Poor Reuchlin! What a fight he is having, and with what enemies! The Pope himself is afraid to provoke the monks. Alexander VI used to say that it was less dangerous to provoke the most powerful prince in Europe than offend the meanest of the mendicant friars. Those wretches in the disguise of poverty are the tyrants of the Christian world, and a precious leader they have in their assaults on Reuchlin, a fool with a forehead of brass,

and himself more than half a Jew. The devil himself, the eternal enemy of Christ, could devise no fitter instrument to disturb the peace of Christendom in the name of religion than such a child of hell disguised as an angel of light. It is a shame to Europe. Here is a man who deserves immortal honour reduced to crossing swords with a monster whose name would pollute my papers. I believe the creature was only baptized that he might the better poison people's minds — a veritable Satan, Diabolus, slanderer, going among foolish women and canting about heresy and the need of defending the faith. What is to happen if such an impure beast as this is allowed to rage against men of learning and reputation, and to force them on their defence? Believe me, it will not end here. Mischief will come of it. A small spark will kindle a large fire. The bishops ought to stir themselves. The Emperor should look to it. Such a viper ought not to be tolerated."[40]

Erasmus wrote the same year to Caesarius in even stronger words, if possible: "It is right for the defenders of learning to support Reuchlin, but there was no need for them to point their lances at that pestilent trumpeter of the Furies, that vicar of Satan, with the theologians in masks behind him. He is a fellow made of malevolence. To denounce him is not to conquer him, for he has no shame, and he counts the attacks upon him as a distinction. He pretends to defend the Gospel, and he is destroying Christianity. If his body be examined, may I be hanged if a Jew is not found inside him, or six hundred Jews. He is a bad Jew and a worse Christian. Conflicts with so vile a monster are better avoided. Conquerors or conquered, those who meddle with him will be spattered with mud. I would rather see the whole Old Testament abolished, so we preserved the New, than have the peace of the world

broken for the books of the Jews."[41] And in another letter to Pirkheimer he bursts out with: "I wonder that the magistrates and bishops permit such a venomous wretch to rage as he does, and that no Hercules is found to drag this new Cacus into gaol."[42] The latter part of Erasmus' letter to Caesarius indicates that he did not fully grasp the significance of the fight waged by Reuchlin. It seemed to him more a defense against personal attacks than a battle between religious tolerance on the one hand and spiritual and racial fanaticism on the other, which, as a matter of fact, it really was.[43]

Interest in the Jewish controversy and in the battle over the confiscation of their books gradually subsided, only to reawaken stronger than ever in the conflict which Martin Luther started on October 31, 1517. When Reuchlin published his "De arte cabalistica", "The science of the Cabbala", in the spring of the same year, dedicating it to Pope Leo, public opinion at the time paid scant attention to it. The book was written in the form of a dialogue in which the Greek, Philolaus, and Maranus, the Mohammedan, come to Frankfurt to meet Simon the Jew and to get guidance in the mysteries of the Cabbala. Simon gladly expounds Jewish metaphysics to them. The doctrine of the Trinity and of the power of the sign of the cross and other mysteries become tangible with the aid of the Cabbala which is presented as almost a bridge between Judaism and Christianity.[44]

When Emperor Maximilian died on January 12, 1519, the Jews lost a protector, who, despite his vacillation, had listened more to their friends than to their enemies. Maximilian's death gave new bravado to the anti-Semitic faction. At Ratisbon the synagogue was torn down and at least

part of the Jews were banished. The matter came up at the Diet of Worms in 1521. The Jews were granted reparations but the edict banishing them was not withdrawn. Their cemetery was to be held inviolate, but in reality it was desecrated.

That the general Catholic opinion continued to remain hostile to the Jews appeared also in the book "Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos" which Salvagus Porchetus of Genoa published in 1520.[45] At the same time that the bull was issued putting Luther under a ban, Reuchlin's "Ocular Mirror" was condemned in Rome at the behest of the Dominicans. Inspired by this victory Pfefferkorn published in 1521 "Eine Mitleidige Clag Gegen den Ungläubigen Reuchlin", after which he disappears from the scenes of history. The jubilant Dominicans began to talk once more of the Inquisition. But Ulrich von Hutten threatened that if Reuchlin went to the stake, churches would go up in smoke, too. Some time before this Franz von Sickingen had humiliated Hochstraten by forcing him to pay to Reuchlin the 111 gold florins which had been set as the cost of the trial at Spires.[46] To the aging Reuchlin, impoverished by the long struggle, this sum came in good stead. The humbled Hochstraten was forced to give up both his office of prior and inquisitor. Finally even Rome exonerated Reuchlin of all accusations and he died in 1522, still, as a matter of form, an orthodox member of the Catholic Church. The conflict which had lasted 18 years died down. Humanism had saved the Jews and their books.

But the results of Reuchlin's great fight were more far-reaching. In the first place, the walls which the Middle Ages had erected and behind which the Jews had segregated themselves, began to give way. The bright daylight of humanism had penetrated into the murk of general super-

stition and lessened the childish antagonism mixed with fear which characterized the attitude of the great public toward the strange people of Israel. The bracing winds of the New Learning had at least partly cleared the atmosphere which was poisoned with religious fanaticism and had revealed the Jews as fellow-citizens in the same kingdom. On the other hand, the Jews had been able to see a Christian character who from unselfish motives sacrificed his peaceful life on their behalf. This experience helped them, too, on their part to approach Christians and Christianity with more freedom and less prejudice.

As a second result of the conflict, a lively interest sprang up in the Hebrew language. Eleven centuries earlier Jerome had studied Hebrew in Bethlehem with Jewish rabbis in order to give the Church the Vulgate. The Vulgate had become authoritative to the extent that the text of he Hebrew Bible had to be corrected to correspond with it. But now Christian philologists began to vie with one another in studying the "mysteries of the sacred tongue" and to compile grammars of it. Between the time of the appearance of Reuchlin's grammar and the date of Calvin's death there were published 39 grammars in Hebrew written by Christians, many of the books going into several editions. In Basel alone, fifteen made their appearance[47] and four at Wittenberg.[48] One apiece appeared in Zürich, Geneva and Marburg.[49]

In addition to the Old Testament which had been printed earlier in Hebrew, there began to appear other Jewish books as well. For example Daniel Bomberg published the Babylonian Talmud in Antwerp in 1520 in 12 folios and the Jerusalem Talmud in 1523.[50] The Jewish schools, such as the ones in Erfurt, Nuremberg, Ratisbon and Worms continued their activities, still remaining as

closed seats of learning for Jews only. A much wider significance became attached to the study of Hebrew language and literature which was now inaugurated in the universities and which rapidly developed into "a part of Christian scholarship".

The connecting link between the ancient Jewish schools and the students of Hebrew in Christian universities was Elias Levita, surnamed Bachur (1469—1549). He was born in Bavaria but moved early to the safer Italy. His greatest scientific achievement was the study of the Masoretic text. He was once offered the chair of Hebrew at Paris which he refused.[51] Among his pupils were the reformed priests Fagius and Sebastian Münster who advanced the scientific study of Hebrew in Germany from the point at which Pellicanus and Reuchlin had left it. Mention must be made along with Levita also of Reuchlin's friend, the rabbi and physician Obadiah Ben Jacob Sforno, who wrote commentaries on the books of the Old Testament.

Erasmus supported stanchly the opinion that the professorships of Greek and Hebrew which were now being established should be entrusted to incumbents who were by birth Greek and Jewish. This was a new idea, especially as far as chairs of Hebrew were concerned, and did not prevail without strong opposition. While Erasmus was staying at Louvain as Imperial Councillor, from 1516—1521, the College of the Three Languages was established there. Erasmus proposed offering the chair of Hebrew to a certain learned Jew who had become christianized, by the name of Adrian. His recommendation of Adrian has come down to us as follows: "He is a Hebrew by birth but long since a Christian by religion, a physician by profession, and so skilled in the whole Hebrew literature that in my judgement there is no one at this day to be compared

with him. But if my opinion has not sufficient weight with you, all whom I have known in Germany, or in Italy who were versed in that language, have borne the same testimony. He not only knows the language perfectly, but is thoroughly acquainted with the mysteries of the authors and has them all at his fingers' ends."[52]

Erasmus' stand gradually gained support and was put into practice now and then. Thus, for instance, Johannes Böschenstein wandered about as a teacher of Hebrew, going from one university to another, being at Wittenberg in 1518, and in Zürich where he had Zwingli for a pupil.[53] Johann Immanuel Tremellius of Ferrara (1510—1580), whose Hebrew grammar was printed in Wittenberg in 1541, the same year that he became a convert to Protestantism, taught his mother-tongue at Strassburg, Cambridge and Heidelberg. The greater part of Hebrew chairs of learning were left, however, to native Christian savants, of whom the most famous came in time to be Sebastian Münster.

The third effect of the battle waged by Reuchlin and the humanists was that it cleared a path for the Reformation. In the minds of many of their contemporaries there was little difference in the beginning between the battles fought by Reuchlin and that waged by Luther: they merely represented different phases of the same conflict. Franz von Sickingen invited both to seek safety in his castle. Pfefferkorn was not wholly wrong when he stated in his book "A Piteous Lament" ("Eine Mitleidige Clag") that "If the Pope had condemned Reuchlin and his "Ocular Mirror" eight years ago, neither Martin Luther nor any of your younger obscurorum virorum would have dared to do or utter what they now so publicly do to the detriment of the Christian faith."[54]

Reuchlin's unremitting and long-drawn-out literary battle had molded public opinion into receptivity for the religious revolution led by Luther and Calvin and showed that the time of Rome's invincibility was past. In the general consciousness the worth of the monastic orders which were the strongest fortification of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages had greatly declined, as a result of the attacks of the humanists. This was especially true of the Dominicans. Luther's easy victory over Tetzel is to be partly explained by the creation of a general opinion hostile to the Dominicans, which Reuchlin together with his fellow humanists had effected.

CHAPTER FOUR

REASONS FOR THE INTEREST SHOWN IN THE JEWS BY THE REFORMATION

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The preoccupation of the Reformation with the Jewish question was a direct continuation of Reuchlin's struggle. Georg Spalatin (1484—1545), court chaplain to Frederick the Wise and his secret scribe, had evidently at the behest of his Elector and with the intercession of Magister Johann Lang made inquiries concerning Luther's opinion of the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy. Luther replied in February of 1514 with a brief letter which he still signed as "Martinus Luder".[1] The attitude of the future Reformer toward the Jews at this time was coldly theological. Through the wrath of God they were abandoned to the power of their corrupt minds, so that they would remain unregenerate.[2] And the prophets had foretold that the Jews were to be blasphemers of God and of Christ, the King, and their scorners. "Who neither grasps nor understands this has not yet seen theology."[3] This last statement evidently referred to Reuchlin who was not a Doctor of Theology but of Law. Luther, however, did not participate for many years in the controversies which were going on, either pro or con.[4]

In his lectures on the Psalms, delivered in the years 1513—1516, Luther does, however, touch now and then upon his contemporary Jews. They comment on the Bible according to the "lies" in the Talmud nor submit themselves unto the righteousness of God; in their false anticipation

of the Messiah they shut their hearts to the Gospel of Christ, etc.[5] Similar general thoughts appear in his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans.

Not until 1521, when the Reformation was in full swing did Luther take the question under full consideration. This was done in the work "Das Magnificat"[6] albeit quite briefly and incidentally. The Jews must not be treated in an unfriednly way, for "who would want to become a Christian, seeing Christians behaving in such an unchristian manner toward their fellow-men".[7] Thus Luther allies himself with the liberal viewpoint of the humanists.

His next stand in the matter was much more decisive. In 1523, a year after Reuchlin's death, Luther published a booklet on the title-page of which was printed: "Das Jhesus Christus eyn geborner Jude sey. Doctor Martinus Luther. Wittenberg. M. D.xxiijx".[8] "That Jesus Christ was born a Jew" immediately gained a particularly wide circulation which indicated that the Jewish problem was still among the burning questions of the day. The book appeared in June at earliest and by the end of the year it had run into nine editions.[9] Ulrich von Hutten who died on August 31, lived long enough to see that this cause, too, on behalf of which he had delivered his blow in the ranks of the humanists, had gained a new and powerful sponsor. The same year or in the following one this pro-Jewish book by Luther appeared in a Latin translation made by Justus Jonas under the title of: "LIBELLUS MARTINI LVTHERI, CHRIstum Ieum, ueru Iudaeum & semen esse Abrahae, e Germanico uersus, per I. Ionam." In 1524 a new edition of it appeared in Wittenberg. The following year another Latin version of it appeared in Strassburg, translated by J. Lonicer.[10] These versions brought Luther's opinions to the ken of the learned circles in all lands.

The direct reason for the publication of the booklet was the assertion made by Archduke Ferdinand that Luther had taught that Christ was of the seed of Abraham.[11] In the beginning of his book he refers to the accusation that he had supposedly preached and written that "Maria, Mother of God, would not have been a virgin before and after giving birth".[12] Despite its exegetic-dogmatic theme, the book, under Luther's flowing pen deals candidly with the Jewish question and in a way which is particularly sympathetic toward the Jews, so that the book really became "a fine monument of his humanitarian spirit".[13] His most important source of material had been the Postille of Nicolaus de Lyra. In certain of his other early writings as well, especially in his Genesis-lectures, Luther touched incidentally upon the Jewish question.

Of the other leaders of the Reformation only Martin Bucer and Philip of Hesse took strong stands in the matter and to a certain degree also Johann Agricola of Eisleben and Joachim II of Brandenburg.

In Switzerland, England and the Northern countries there were either no Jews at all or so few that the Jewish question did not arise. England, for example, was practically stripped of the Jews from 1290 to 1655, when the doors were again opened to them by Cromwell.[14] For that reason one searches in vain among the Reformers of Zürich, Geneva, Oxford and those of the Northern lands for written expression of any attitude in the matter with the exception of the earlier mentioned modest participation of "the citizen of all Europe", Erasmus, in the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy and of some few other pronouncements of an incidental nature. In Germany, on the other hand, there were so many Jews that the local Reformation

came by force of circumstance into frequent contact with them.[15] The aforementioned men, therefore, were left to determine the stand of the Reformation in the matter, Luther formulating the theoretical approach in the main and the rest the practical procedure.

The most direct cause for the awakening of interest in the leaders of the Reformation toward the Jews was the same as that of the humanists: that in theology a return must be made to the sources, that is, to the Greek of the New Testament and to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. According to Luther, a theologian should be thoroughly in possession of the basis and source of faith, that is to say, the Holy Scriptures; armed with this knowledge it was that "I confounded and silenced all my adversaries", he said.[16] He declared that even translators of the Bible should not work alone but should use the aid of Jewish scholars. Following this principle he used the help of rabbis in translating the Old Testament.[17]

The different interpretation put upon the prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah was responsible for Luther's concluding that he could not rely upon their translation fully.[18] For that reason Christian "Ebreisten" had to be responsible finally for the translation.[19] To qualify for this the evangelical theologs had to delve into the secrets of Hebrew.[20] To his own ears the words of the Hebrew Bible spoke with such forcefulness that it was difficult to interpret their meaning into other tongues. Melanchthon spoke of how a knowledge of Hebrew aids in tapping sources and of how it opened up to scholars the world of the psalms and of the prophets.[21] Heinrich Möller (Henricus Mollerus) deplored the fact in his inaugural address on assuming a professorship at Hamburg that "even

to doctors the sources were unknown" but that with the increasing knowledge of Hebrew this shortcoming was being rectified.[22]

Another cause for interest in the Jews came about through perfectly natural and Biblical grounds since the cotemporary Jews were descendants of the most remarkable people of the Bible which was the alpha and omega of the principles and pronouncements of the Reformation. To Luther's mind they were "so great and glorious a nation" whose history antedated that of all other nations. Where the Latin Church had only one illustrious name, that of Augustine, and the Eastern Church only Athanasius,[23] the Jews had a series of great men which extended from Abraham to St. Paul.[24] Not a single patriarch, apostle or prophet arose from the pagans.[25] The Jews had been called to be the mouthpiece of God[26] even though they had let the devil spoil everything.[27] Even more idealistic was Calvin's attitude toward the Israel of the Old Covenant in saying: "The Israelitish nation were then as darling sons; others were strangers: they were known to him, and received under his faithful protection; others were left to their own darkness: they were sanctified by God; others were profane: they were honoured with the Divine presence; others were excluded from approaching it."[28] And according to the opinion of Philip of Hesse the Jews were to be preferred "because of the patriarchs above other unbelievers, though according to the Gospel they would be enemies."[29]

As far as the Jews of the New Testament were specifically concerned, the attitude of the Reformers, like that of writers from the church fathers to modern dealers with religious subjects was wanting in sympathy. The Pharisees, the Sadducees and the scribes were conceived of as repre-

senting the whole people. It was easily forgotten that Matthew and John as well as Peter and Paul were Jews also and that Hebrew blood flowed in the veins of Jesus. When one had to seek for examples of the sin against the Holy Ghost and in general of God's unregenerate opponents, it was easier to point an accusing finger at Jews of Biblical times than to pick out examples from the life pulsating around one.[30] This made the presentation seem Biblical, although it lost much of its possibility of contact with existing conditions. But the result of this method was and still is that the weaknesses and sins of the ancient Jews were transferred to all Jews in general in the consciousness of hearers and readers. When, for example, Luther continually was comparing Jews, papists and Turks, the one with the other, he never troubled to explain whether he meant the Jews of remote times or his contemporaries. When, on the other hand, it was a question of dogmatic differences, the stand was clear: the Jews had misconstrued such and such a portion in the Bible, they had not conceived the divine household of grace in its development, and had therefore been left to mark time while the progress of Christianity had gone on. This was especially so in the case of the question on circumcision, which Luther explained at great length in his Genesis-lectures. It was a law given to Jews alone which had been revoked ages ago even as far as they were concerned.[31] In still abiding by it they erred,[32] as well as in considering it immutable. In their "raging pride" they supposed that "the whole world was to be circumcised".[34] The Genesis-lectures afforded Luther an opportunity to demonstrate that the Jews' boast that they were the "seed of Abraham", while Christians were only Gentiles was lacking in foundation.[35] They simply were no longer God's people, but had

become abandoned because of their faithlessness when they had not accepted the Messiah.[36]

The refusal of the Jews to accept the doctrine of the Virgin birth was often to the forefront. It brought about the best known of Luther's works concerning the Jewish question: "That Jesus Christ Was Born A Jew." Oekolampadius, also, deplored it in one of his sermons.[37] Taking into consideration the opposing views of the Jews on Christian dogmas it is easy to understand the laconic seventh point of the proposed Jewish law in Martin Bucer's "Cassel Opinion"; namely, "They shall not be allowed to enter into disputation concerning their religion."[38]

Luther's forcefully expressed thought that "Jesus Christ was born a Jew" aroused wide attention. His famous words: "No matter how greatly we boast of ourselves, we are, nevertheless, pagans and the Jews blood kin of Christ; we are distant and strangers, they are near relatives of our Lord, his cousins and brothers,"[39] directed the attention of many people to the "cousins of Christ" and changed into more friendly feelings the former hostile conceptions of them.

The third factor which fixed the attention and sympathy of the rising Protestant world upon the Jews was the old and still continuing oppression and persecution of the Jews. As has been earlier indicated, the appearing of Luther as a protagonist of the Jews was a direct continuation of the struggle waged by Reuchlin against the Dominicans of Cologne. In his book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" Luther wrote: "For our fool popes, bishops, sophists and monks, those thick-skulled asses, have thus far treated the Jews in such a way, that whoever wanted to be a good Christian, could very well have become a Jew. And had I been a Jew and witnessed such blockheads and numbskulls

ruling and teaching the Christian faith, I would rather have been a pig than a Christian. For they have treated the Jews like dogs, not like Christians. The only thing they have accomplished is to malign the Jews and to confiscate their property. When they have been baptized, they have not been taught how to live according to Christian doctrine, but only initiated into the power of popery and monasticism."[40]

In his Table Talk Luther shows his pity toward the ill-fated Israel. He says: "The Jews are the most miserable people on earth. They are plagued everywhere, and scattered about all countries, having no certain resting-place. They sit as on a wheelbarrow, without a country, people or government."[41] The cold if not outright hostile attitude of the Catholic Church toward the Jews brought sympathy toward them among humanists and Protestants.

The fourth reason why interest might have been expected to be aroused in the Jews was the general eschatological waiting which characterized the time. It is to be noted, however, that during the Reformation the Jews did not play the part in the anticipation of the end of the world which they have in modern eschatological literature. In their place at that time were the Turks. The Catholics had the popular anticipation that the Emperor Charles V would be the fifth conqueror of Jerusalem after Titus, Heraclius, Charlemagne and Gottfried of Bouillon, after which would appear the Antichrist.[42]

Luther related that as a child he had heard the prophecy that some emperor named Frederick would come to free the Holy Sepulchre. But later he felt no interest in the matter. As he said: "As for the actual tomb in which the Lord lay and which is now in the hands of the Saracens, God cares no more about it than about the Swiss cows."[43]

Incidentally he sometimes mentions the "chosen remnant" of Israel.[45] Melanchthon confines himself in the matter to referring to its exegetical side.[46] Calvin's insight into the prophecy of the Bible again was so weak that it did not lead him into studying the future of Israel more closely. International in all his approaches, he did not lend much attention to the Jews as a separate people, but was inclined to interpret, for example, the word of Paul that "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision"[47] in such a way as to include the amalgamation of the chosen ones into one nation in Christ.[48]

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRACTICAL JEWISH POLICY OF THE REFORMATION

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The utter confusion which obtained in the Catholic Church during the early years of the Reformation granted peace to the Jews of Central Europe in general. It was an indirect result of the Protestant revolution. But the Reformation took a more direct hold upon the Jewish question. As early as 1521 Luther wrote: "Therefore we must not treat the Jews so unkindly since from among their number shall come Christians, every day and in the future."[1] And two years later, in his book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" he gives the admonition: "— — — it is my advice that we should treat them kindly." This opinion and admonition of Luther's which dominated the whole spirit of the aforementioned book soon became the determining guide of all Protestantism in its Jewish policy, though in its later development there is to be noted the short-lived reaction led by Luther himself.

The first German ruler who undertook to apply Luther's liberal ideas to the Jews was Landgrave Philip of Hesse (1518—1567), the type of Reformation ruler most like that of the Renaissance and at the same time its greatest political genius. As early as 1524, or a year after Luther's vigorous pronouncement on the Jewish question, he issued a decree which granted Jews unobstructed passage through his domains.[2] Up to this time Philip's policy had been anti-Jewish, like that of most other German rulers. The example of the powerful Hessen-Kassel gained followers

from adjoining lands in that former restrictive measures gradually were discarded. Nor did the Jews merely travel through Hessen-Kassel but came to settle there in ever-increasing numbers. The native Hessians did not, to be sure, all view this with favorable eyes.

But the attention of adversaries of the Jews was distracted away from them quite unexpectedly. When the Münster Revolution had come to an end with the complete defeat of the Anabaptists on June 24, 1535, a considerable number of them moved across the border into Hesse where they began to indulge very actively in propaganda. The movement spread like wildfire especially among the peasants, so that conditions in the young evangelical church were well-nigh completely disordered. Philip issued a series of edicts in the years 1536—1538, directed against the Anabaptists. When they proved ineffective he called the Strassburg reformer, Martin Bucer to his aid, with whom he had become acquainted during the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529. Bucer (1491—1551) who had successfully opposed the Separatists in Strassburg, accepted the call and arrived in Cassel on October 29, 1538. By his sermons and friendly talks this "Pietist among the Reformers" smothered the threatening conflagration in a few weeks. But Bucer did not return immediately to Strassburg after his brilliant victory but remained in Cassel to help Philip in the arranging of ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the Jewish question in all its ramifications was brought into the order of the day. In the Council of Hesse of December, 1538, Bucer introduced on behalf of the theologians of Hesse a promemoria concerning the Jews addressed to the Landgrave, the so-called "Cassel Opinion" which Dr. Eells designates as "an opinion that in its medieval intolerance was a striking contrast with his treatment of the Anabaptists."[3]

The drawing up of this document was occasioned by a petition of the Jews asking for new commercial rights. The title of the "Opinion" read: "An Opinion Concerning the Duty of Constituted Authority to Allow Jews to Dwell Among Christians, and if allowed to do so, how and to what extent."[4]

The signers of the "Opinion" were "die gelerten" Joh. Kymeus, Dionysius Melander, Joh. Lenyngus, Justus Winther, Joh. Pistorius Niddanus and Caspar Kauffungen, but it was Bucer's handwriting throughout. The main thought was that the duty of the state is to preserve and promote the only true faith in the people and to protect it from heresies. Bucer referred to the stipulations contained in the 7th and 13th chapters of Deuteronomy. Many kings, princes and cities had been obedient to these stipulations and the Church itself had promulgated laws in conformity with them. The Lord, however, had granted former emperors and many bishops to give Jews a dwelling-place among Christians. That could still be given on the strength of the words contained in the 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans in which Paul speaks of the wild olive tree being grafted onto the good tree, but with certain conditions. Of these the most important were that the Jews refrain from mocking at the religion of Christians, leaning on Moses and the prophets and not upon the "godless legends of the Talmud";[5] that they build no new synagogues, that they hold no disputations concerning their religion save with preachers designated for that purpose, that they go to hear Christian sermons which were specifically arranged for them and that they submit to certain trade restrictions.[6] It was just these trade restrictions which Bucer proposed according to the statute given out at Strassburg on March 16, 1530 which brought on the charge of

"mediaeval intolerance". It was evident that the fifteen years spent by Bucer in the Dominican order[7] had contaminated him to some extent with anti-Semitism from which he was not able to free himself even later on.

If Dr. Heinrich Frick in his book "Die evangelische Mission"[8] has greatly over-rated Bucer's missionary ideas concerning the Jews and concerning his share in that more liberal Jewish policy which Luther effected, quite independent of Bucer, Dr. Eell's criticism of Bucer's stand is unduly severe on the opposite hand. The Cassel Opinion, in any event, marked a forward step in the Jewish policy of the Church.

Landgrave Philip, however, had looked for a much greater progressive step. So he answered the promemoria of his theologians in a letter dated Dec. 23, 1538, which he sent to Bucer. Philip was a liberal-minded ruler. But perhaps the eve of Christmas Eve had rendered him even milder toward his Jewish subjects than customary. He designated them as "a glorious race from which also Christ, our Redeemer, has been born according to the flesh". Even though some branches on the good olive tree of Israel had withered, no Christian, who, after all, was only of the wild olive variety, could vaunt himself at the expense of even the withered branches. He dilated upon such Biblical passages as "this generation" of Luke 21:32 which "shall not pass away" and of "a new covenant with the house of Israel" of Jer. 31:31-34 and in Deut. 10:18 of "the stranger" who has been given "food and raiment", as meaning the Jews of his own time. Thus he arrived at the conclusion that the Holy Bible and the New Testament as well urged one to treat the Jews well.[9] Bucer answered the Landgrave in a letter dated at Lichtenau on Dec. 27, 1538. He agreed politely with Philip's ideas, but stated, however, that a

just and godly government must grant the preference to the espousers of the faith and secondary consideration to the scorners.[10]

In some unknown way the Jews had obtained a copy of the Landgrave's letter and published it. It naturally aroused as much commotion as did Luther's pronouncement concerning the Jews of fifteen years earlier. Bucer was undeniably put into a very peculiar light. In order to better his position he published a booklet "Concerning the Jews" which appeared in Strassburg in 1539.[11] The first part of the book was the "Cassel Opinion" of Bucer and six Hessian theologians. The Landgrave's letter had been left out. But in its place there appeared in the second part an open letter, signed by Bucer and E. Williger, dated at Strassburg the 10th of May, 1539. It was not aimed against the Landgrave but against the Jews, who, in Bucer's opinion were to be held subject to Christian rule, so that Christendom might be protected from their heresies and also that their great sin, the "Old Crime", might be expiated.[12]

Philip settled the controversy by issuing the "Judenordnung", a law covering the Jews. Into it he had incorporated the positive points from the "Cassel Opinion", expanded according to the Landgrave's own ideas. The Jews could not dispute concerning their doctrines except with ordained priests; they could build no more synagogues; they must be content with Moses and the prophets in addition to the Talmud; they must come with their wives and children to hear Christian sermons; they must submit to certain restriction in trade and usury, so that Christians would be protected from money-lenders.[13] Under the sceptre of Philip the Magnanimous, these statutes meant full freedom to the Jews in the practice of their religion

and almost full freedom as far as trade relations were concerned.

Another German state in which the Reformation was to mean a decisively new trend in Jewish policy was electoral Brandenburg. The fanatitcal Catholic, Joachim I who had organized the famous Jewish massacres in 1510 died in 1535.[14] His son, Joachim II Hector, who ruled from 1535—1571 joined with the supporters of the Reformation, setting out from the year 1539 to cautiously effect the program of Wittenberg.[15] With new and freer currents blowing, the trend was further shown in the same year, 1539, when he retracted his father's order against Jews entering Brandenburg. They now obtained free trade rights on the rather indefinite restriction that "usury and excessive profits in trade" were forbidden.[16]

Philip Melanchthon, who was otherwise in close contact with the Reformation in Brandenburg, had his share in this new law concerning the Jews. Paul Fromm, who, in 1510, had informed on the Jews for their theft of the sacramental bread, had later come to suffer pangs of conscience, and had confessed to a priest, that he, who himself had stolen the Host, had put the blame on the Jews in order to escape blame himself. The innocent Jews had been fearfully tortured in order to obtain their confessions. The priest had wanted to bring the matter to light in the name of justice, but his superior, the Bishop of Spandau, had forbidden him to reveal the secrets of the confessional. The priest had then joined the Protestants in order to gain freedom to speak and had bared the matter to Melanchthon. Melanchthon had brought the matter to the attention of the Diet of Frankfurt where it had been subsequently investigated. According to Rabbi Josel of Rosheim, Melanchthon had, at the fair of Frankfurt in 1539, reported

the truth to Elector Joachim as well.[17] Probably Rabbi Josel himself had his share as well in the rectifying of the wrong done in 1510, for he served as spokesman for the Jews for a half century before rulers and officials.

To be sure, Joachim II's liberal Jewish policy did not proceed without opopsition. But he soon obtained an influential ally for himself. Johann Agricola of Eisleben (1494—1566) was called to Berlin in 1540 to act as court chaplain. For 26 years, or until his death, he was the trusted advisor of the Elector. From the year 1543 on he was Superintendent of the Consistory of Berlin. The interests of the great-hearted Agricola embraced everything from collecting German proverbs to translating Melanchthon's Latin commentaries and to researches concerning Huss. He set himself wholeheartedly to upholding Joachim's Jewish policies and to protecting the Jews. At first the matter progressed without arousing much attention. But the unfortunate Turkish expedition of 1542 in which Joachim acted as chief of the imperial forces changed the situation. Joachim had fulfilled his obligations honestly, as far as financing the expedition went, thereby reducing the already poor state treasury into total bankruptcy.[18] The Jewish financiers offered him credit and the Elector made free use of it. A certain Jew named Michael, obtained loans for him, becoming at the same time Joachim's trusted advisor in financial matters.[19] The influence of the Jews naturally increased, arousing disaffection in the minds of the old citizens of Brandenburg. Whereupon Agricola took up the defense of the Jews even to public espousing of their cause in his sermons.[20] The rumor was raised that he had been bribed by the Jews for it was otherwise impossible to understand his point of view.[21] The Provost of Berlin, Georg Buchholzer, who

otherwise did not enjoy amicable relations with the strictly Lutheran court chaplain, set himself to oppose Agricola on the Jewish issue, flinging his opinions publicly from the pulpit like his opponent. The Elector silenced him with a severe reprimand. The injured Buchholzer received, however, at least partial restitution from Luther who sent him a letter early in September of 1543, thanking him for having preached against the Jews and for having fought valiantly in behalf of his opinions.[22] Luther's attitude toward the Jews had changed by this time, so that he ranged himself on the side of the Provost and against the court chaplain.[23] Buchholzer went to Wittenberg on matters pertaining to the newly founded Consistory of Berlin in March of 1545, staying there several days.[24] It is evident that Luther obtained from Buchholzer the material for his letter which he sent on the 9th of March to Elector Joachim warning him against the Jewish "Alchymisten" with whom it was rumored he was consorting in his financial difficulties.[25] The Elector, however, did not heed the advice, but upheld by Agricola, continued his friendly attitude toward the Jews. — The example of Brandenburg was followed by Hesse as well as by many small neighboring countries.

Otto Hauser, in his "Geschichte des Judentums", has tried to explain reasons for the mild Jewish policy of the Protestants, thus: "The Protestants, as the purer north European group assumed the ancient unprejudiced attitude toward the Jews, respecting them as the chosen people of the Bible, and receiving them into their lands when they had been exiled by others and gave them in all fields almost a fuller freedom than they have had among Aryans."[26]

It might be said concerning Hauser's theory that in the first place the whole Aryan hypothesis is without any scientific foundation and that the theory, even if it were correct, would not be applicable to the happenings in Brandenburg and Hesse. The blood of the "purer north European group" is certainly not the only kind that flows in the veins of the inhabitants of Brandenburg. And in addition, no changes had taken place in their blood or in that of the Hessians between the Jewish massacres of 1510 and the time when the liberal Jewish policy began in 1539. The only change which had come about was the change from Catholicism to Protestantism. Not until the Reformation, together with Humanism, created a new and freer attitude in peoples, did an unprejudiced intercourse become possible between Christians and Jews.

CHAPTER SIX

MISSION IDEAS BEFORE THE REACTION

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When Georg Spalatin inquired Luther's opinion in the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy, Luther had replied in 1514, among other things, that in his opinion the work of the Dominicans was an attempt to banish Beelzebub without having been called to that work by God; for the Jews would not be converted in any event.[1] In his lectures on the Psalms, 1513—1516, Luther reveals his unfavorable stand against mass conversion of the Jews. Imbued with eternal wrath the synagogue stands as an opponent of the Church, without being able to see the dawn of the morrow because the Jews reject the truth.[2] He admits, however, that "a remnant according to the election of grace" is to be saved.[3]

But from the year 1521 his conception of the possible conversion of the Jews became more hopeful. His book "Das Magnificat" which appeared in that year contained hints in that direction. The book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" which appeared two years later was quite bold in its hopes. The Reformation had begun like a spring stream at flood-time, engulfing towns and villages as it went on. It was no wonder that Luther could write Bernhard, a certain baptized Jew, in June of 1523: "But when the golden light of the Gospel really arises to shine, it is to be hoped that many Jews will become seriously and truly converted, thus being snatched into the presence of Christ."[4]

It is to be noted, however, that these strong hopes existed only on Lutheran foundations, and even there only a comparatively short while. In Reformed quarters the idea of predestination of Calvin shut out the possible mass-conversion of the Jews from all consideration, insofar as they came into any contact worth mention with them.[5] Individual Jews might still be the object of conversion, as is indicated by the recountal of George Wishart which has been preserved by John Knox in his history of the Scottish Reformation: "I once chanced to meitt with a Jew, when I was sailling upoun the watter of Rhene. I did inqueir of him, what was the caus of his pertinacie, that he did not beleve that the trew Messias was come, considering that thei had sene all the prophecyes, which war spoking of him, to be fulfilled: moreover, the prophecyes tackin away, and the Scepter of Juda. By many other testimonyes of the Scriptour, I vanquest him, and approved that Messias was come, the which thei called Jesus of Nazareth." But the Jew made rebuttal with: When the Messiah cometh, he will not destroy the Law, but the Christians destroy it;[6] among Christians the poor can almost die of starvation without arousing any pity in them while the Jews take care of their poor; the law forbids the making of idols, but the churches "ar full of idolles"; moreover the Christians make the sacramental bread and worship it, saying that it is their God.[7]

There can be no mention made of any systematic converting of Jews on the Lutheran side either. Certain special modes of action toward conquering them can be observed, however.

In his "Opinion" Reuchlin had suggested to the Emperor Maximilian in 1510 that two professors of Hebrew be in-

stalled in each German university for a period of ten years, who should also teach the rabbinical Hebrew. Thus, according to his mind, Jews could have been won over to Christianity through the paths of conviction.[8] This idea passed on as an inheritance from Humanism to the Reformation.[9] Luther's own example showed, as is later demonstrated,[10] that he used his knowledge of Hebrew in order to prove to the Jews the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies in Christ. Among the professors of Hebrew and other theologians in the Protestant universities perhaps some one here and there followed Luther's example in this respect, although no direct proof of this can be found except in the case of Sebastian Münster whose missionary activity fell later, during the reaction.

Personal contact and conversation is the most important mode of action in all missionary work. This was certainly not lacking in the relations of the Reformers and the Jews, as the earlier recountal of Wishart's example already indicated. Luther wrote in 1523: "I hope that many Jews may become ardent Christians when they are treated kindly and are guided gently on the basis of Holy Writ."[11] In his Table Talk he several times mentions his conversations with rabbis, of which the following excerpt may serve as example: "In 1537, when I was in Frankfurt, a great rabbi said to me: My father had read very much, and waited for the coming of the Messiah, but at last he fainted,[12] and out of hope said: As our Messiah has not come in fifteen hundred years, most certainly Christ Jesus must be he.[13]

Jewish sermons as such were not unknown either. Kaspar Güttel of Eisleben who was one of the first monks to adopt the attitude of Luther is specifically mentioned as having preached the evangelical faith to the Jews.[14] This custom

did not, however, come into more general use until it was decreed by the authorities during the time of Reaction when it came into question as a forced matter.

The written activity of the evangelical church toward winning over the Jews began in 1523 with the publication of Luther's book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew". As one reason for the writing of this book Luther gives the following statement: "— — — if that I might persuade some of the Jews to the Christian faith."[15] In accordance with its purpose it was from beginning to end a fervid missionary epistle, commending itself continually to Jewish readers. With the exception of the works of the Jewish convert Antonius Margaritha, Luther's work remained, however, the only Jewish missionary work of the early period of the Reformation.

Martin Luther makes an interesting suggestion whereby he would have Jews as intermediaries in winning over Jews. In sending a copy of his book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" to a converted Jew named Bernhard, Luther wrote him that he hoped that he, by his example and work would be instrumental in having other Jews, whom God has fore-ordained, to be called into the presence of "their King David".[16] Bernhard had been Rabbi Jacob Gipher of Göppingen but had changed his name at baptism. In 1520 he had matriculated in the University of Leipzig as "Bernardus Iudeus renatus in Geppingen, hebraice lingue doctor". The Reformers of Wittenberg had him carry their letters; for example, Melanchthon sent him to Landgrave Philip in 1536. In 1522 he had married a servant girl of Karlstadt but the marriage had not been successful. Luther likewise was unsuccessful in trying to get a weapon in Bernhard for the winning of the Jews. Bernhard was evidently not of the right material.[17] The

same seems to have been the case of the Jewish teachers of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg, Johannes Böschenstein and Matthaeus Adrianus.

Much more suitable for this difficult undertaking was Antonius Margaritha, the son of Rabbi Samuel Margolith of Regensburg, born in Wasserburg, Bavaria. Antonius became converted to Christianity in 1522 and subsequently taught Hebrew in Tübingen, Augsburg, Meissen, Zelle and Leipzig. In 1530 he published a book "Der gantz Jüdisch glaub", "The Whole Jewish Faith"[18] which was printed in Augsburg and of which a new edition appeared in Leipzig in 1531 and in Frankfurt in 1561. In 1534 "Maister" Margaritha obtained the newly established position of Lector Hebraeus in the University of Vienna. The same year he published a book for Jews written in German about the Messiah question.[19] After 1542 Margaritha disappeared from the scene.[20] His books were primarily polemic attacks against the conceptions of his former brothers in faith. As such their influence naturally remained negligible. The purpose, however, was the fulfilling of the mission idea.

As Christians approached Jews with the purpose of converting them, naturally dogmatic and exegetic questions came to be dealt with. The theology of the rabbis was highly developed and those using it belonged to an intelligent and adept race and they certainly showed no hesitation in finding the weak points in the theology of the Christians. The oft repeated warning of the Middle Ages not to get into an argument with Jews about religious matters unless one were sure of victory beforehand, was certainly not without reason. Luther observed in his Table Talk that "the Jews read our books, and raise objections therefrom against us".

A difficult stumbling-block to the Jews was the whole problem of the Trinity as such. The Jews "agree better with the Turks than with the Christians" was the opinion of Luther; for both Jews and Turks concur in this, that there is but only one God. They cannot understand that three persons should be in one divine substance.[21] As a counterbalance to the unitarianism of the Jews it was the custom often to interpret certain passages in the Old Testament on the spirit of trinitarian doctrine. For example, the "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts" of Isaiah 6:3 was interpreted to mean: Holy is the Father, holy the Son, holy the Holy Ghost. But a still more grievous point of contention was formed by the question of Christ and of His divinity. Once two rabbis, Schamaria and Jacob had come to Luther to beg for letters of recommendation for a trip. They had specifically asked that the name of Jesus be omitted from the letter, concerning which Luther observes: "They can not refrain from mocking this name of Jesus."[22]

Once he expressed surprise that the Jews did not believe in Christ who was of their own flesh and blood, although they saw "us pagans" loving Him so much that many thousands had shed their blood on his account.[23] The "lovely accounts" of Jesus' death and resurrection were "still too high and difficult" for the Jews.[24] They did not want to understand why thousands of innocently murdered Jews were forgotten while only the crucified Jesus was talked about.[25] The 53rd chapter of Isaiah which tells of the suffering servant of the Lord was in particular a magnum scandalum to the Jews.[26] Conversation often centered about that chapter and it was dealt with in books intended for the Jews.[27] Luther admitted that it was hard for the Jews to acknowledge forthright that Jesus was the Son of

God. Therefore they must first be allowed to "suck milk"; i.e. must be taught to acknowledge Jesus as the true Messiah. After that they were to be allowed to "sip wine"; i.e. they must be brought to acknowledge Him also as the true God.[28] One of the difficulties in acknowledging Jesus as Messiah was in the interpretation of Isaiah 7:14. According to that "alma", a young woman, and not "bethula", a virgin, was to give birth to a son. Luther maintained that Maria fulfilled all the requirements set in the prophecies for the mother of the Messiah.

Another passage around which argument often centered was Gen. 49:10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah — — — — — — until Shiloh come." When Christians applied this prophecy to Christ, the Jews argued that logically considered the interpretation of the Christians presupposed that the Messiah would have come already during the Babylonian Captivity. To refute them Luther, among others, brought out the arguments that the sceptre of Judah was preserved by Jeconiah, Darnak, Sorobabel and other rulers until Herod became king. Then Judah lost her sceptre and the era of Christ began.[29] Although Joseph was a man of influence in Egypt, he was not, however, the King of Egypt. Nor were Daniel and Mordecai kings in Babylon and Persia. But Jesus is ruler of all the world.[30] The Jews awaited a temporal kingdom. "But that which is temporal, passeth away." Jesus, on the contrary, is the King Eternal.[31] Luther rolled forth the entire patristic testimony to prove that such really was the case. In clarifying in one of his Table Talks Jeremiah's prophecy[32] of Christ as "the Lord our righteousness" he continues: "This argument the Jews are not able to solve; yet if they deny that this sentence is spoken of Christ, they must show unto us another king, descending from David, who should gov-

ern so long as the sun and moon endure, as the promises of the prophets declare."[33] Not until later, during the time of reaction did Luther bring forward as further evidence of proof of Jesus' Messiah-hood the 1500-year long sufferings of the Jews.

The question of Christ led naturally to the question of the law. To Christians Christ was "the end of the law".[34] To Jews the law was still the marrow of faith. "They that are without faith, have laws without end", Luther averred. The Old Testament, with its laws and prophecies was given to the Jews "so that they might direct their eyes to Christ whenever they wanted deliverance," proclaimed Calvin.[35]

As has been made evident by the foregoing, the first Jewish-mission ideas of the Lutheran Reformation sprang from the basis of the liberal Jewish policy of Humanism. Inspired by the powerful force with which the ideas of the Reformation had started out to conquer Germany, Luther was convinced of the winning over of the Jews to Christianity as well, once its truths had been propounded to them.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REACTION AND ITS CAUSES

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In the latter half of the 1530's an evident change away from friendliness took place in the attitude of the Lutheran Reformation toward the Jews. The reaction may be considered to have begun in August of 1536 when the Elector John Frederick (1532—1547) issued a decree that Jews were to be banished from Saxony.[1] The reasons for the banishing are not further known.[2] Josel of Rosheim, armed with a recommendation, of April 26, 1537, from Wolfgang Capito, Bucer's colleague from Strassburg, appealed to Luther in an effort to have the decree set aside. Capito wrote that he pitied the Jews who, after all, were branches cut from the good olive-tree.[3] Luther, however, did not receive Josel, but sent "his good friend Josel" a letter dated November 5, 1537, in which he declined to write concerning the matter to his "gracious lord" the Elector. As reason he gives among other things that the Jews "were committing such deeds as we Christians could not countenance on their part."[4]

This was evidently a reference to the propaganda indulged in by the Moravian Jews, of which Count Wolf Schlick zu Falkenau had written him. They had got a few Christians to believe that Christ had not yet come, that the Mosaic Law was to remain in force forever and that the Gentiles would accept it also. A few had gone so far as to allow themselves to be circumcised. They had come to observe Saturday instead of Sunday as the Sabbath, calling themselves "Die Sabbather".[5] This, to Luther's mind,

overstepped all bounds of moderation and required taking a firmer grip on the Jews. He issued an open letter concerning the matter which appeared in 1538 in Wittenberg under the title "Ein Brieff D. Mart. Luther Wider die Sabbather An einen guten Freund". The same year an edition of it came out in Augsburg as well. The following year Justus Jonas translated it into Latin.[6] The letter contains some severe statements against the Jews. If the Jews can not be converted, the converters can console themselves with the thought that they are no better than were the prophets "whom this wicked people always slew and persecuted."[7]

At about the same time that John Frederick banished the Jews from Saxony and bad blood was being created in Moravia as a result of the successful propaganda of the Jews, Luther was lecturing on the 17th chapter of Genesis. The aforementioned events and perhaps also the anti-Semitic Nicolaus de Lyra whom Luther was using as source in his Genesis lectures gave him cause to speak also of his contemporary Jews. They were a "godless and an arrogant race" that hated and persecuted the Gospel.[8] On one occasion he specifically referred to the happenings in Moravia, saying that he had heard of like events in Austria.[9]

At about the same time the Jewish question began to be increasingly prominent in Luther's Table Talk, for the most part in the form of good-natured, but sometimes of more biting witticism. Thus, for example, he once related how Duke Albert of Saxony punished a certain Jewish rogue who came to him to sell a talisman which was to protect him against sword and dagger. The Duke hung the talisman around the Jew's neck, then ran the poor creature through with his sword saying, "Thou feelest, Jew, how it would have been with me, had I purchased thy talis-

man."[10] Less tragic is the following tale from the Table Talks: "A rich Jew, on his death bed, ordered that his remains should be conveyed to Ratisbon. His friends, knowing that even the corpse of a Jew could not travel without paying heavy toll, devised the expedient of packing the carcass in a barrel of wine, which they then forwarded in the ordinary way. The wagoners, not knowing what lay within, tapped the barrel, and swilled away right joyously, till they found out they had been drinking Jew's pickle. How it fared with them you may imagine!"[11]

Sometimes a more bitter spirit made itself felt underneath the gay banter. The subject came up once of how the Jews mocked Christianity and a table companion asked if it were possible to give a "colaphum" or cuff to a mocking Jew with whom one happened to be alone. Luther said he was prepared to slap him across the mouth in his anger and even to run him through with his sword if he could.[12] Once someone remarked that the nobility and the wealthy favored Jewish physicians because they were more skillful than the German ones. Luther burst out with, "The devil can bring great things about!"[13]

For years the idea had smoldered in Luther's mind of writing a more extensive work for and about the Jews. In the earlier mentioned letter to Rabbi Josel of Rosheim as well as in his book "Wider die Sabbather" he had spoken about these plans of his.[14] Added incentive had been given him by a certain book written by the rabbis against him which the Count Wolf Schlick zu Falkenau had sent him in the spring of 1542.[15] It was an answer to the work "Wider die Sabbather". The Jewish author let a Jew and a Christian character converse, with the outcome that the Christian faith was proved false. Count Schlick besought Luther not to let the matter rest there. Luther seized upon

the question and undertook to write a book which turned out to be his best known work and to many minds his most infamous book on the Jews. As source material he used the works of: Lyra, Burgo, Porchetus, Martin Raymund and Margaritha.[16] He had to familiarize himself with the works of the rabbis as well, for he had knowledge of Jewish doctrine, that was not contained in the writings of the aforementioned Christian authors. On December 21, 1542, the book was still unfinished, as is made evident by the letter dated on that day to Justus Jonas in which he speaks of making an attack against the "raving of the Jews".[17] The printing was begun before the end of the year, as becomes clear from the earliest chapters of the book, the date of which has been corrected by the addition of a I. On January 17, 1543 the work was already completed, as on that date Melanchthon sent a copy of it to Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The title of the book gave an inkling of its belligerent nature: "Von den Juden vnd jren Lügen", "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies". The second edition appeared already the same spring with emendations made with a light touch. In still the same year Justus Jonas translated it into Latin, inscribing it to Duke Moritz. The translation appeared the following year in Frankfurt.[18]

The considerateness with which Luther had treated the Jews in his work "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" was lacking now. He had expected them to improve but they had steadily grown worse. Their conversion seemed impossible.[19] They were veritable "liars and bloodhounds",[20] "poisonous snakes and young devils".[21] He enumerated a frightful series of popular notions concerning the awful sins of the Jews: the poisoning of wells, the kidnapping of children, the secret murders and so on, admitting, however, that these facts had been derived from books and

hearsay.[22] They boasted of being the most high-born race on earth, having descended from Abraham and Sara, Isaac and Rebecca, but Christ called them "this generation of vipers".[23] Was not "Noha" in reality the "true, natural progenitor of all men"? And were not all Christians descended from Japhet, who was the first born, while the Jews descended from Sem? But why concern oneself with genealogies, was Luther's conclusion, when David classed all men, Gentiles and Jews, alike in saying: "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me."[24] The Jews, however, would act more wisely, were they to return to Jerusalem.[25] Luther's advice on how the Jews were to be treated was far from Christian kindliness. Let their synagogues be burnt, "for the glory of our Lord and of Christendom", so that God might see that we would not tolerate right under our noses a meeting-house in which Christ is blasphemed.[26] Let their houses be razed so that they may know that they are not lords in our land; let their prayer-books and Talmuds be confiscated; let rabbis be forbidden to teach; let their trading and usury be made unlawful; let the young and vigorous Jews be put to swinging the axe and hoe, to carding and spinning, so that they may earn their bread by the sweat of their brow as has been decreed to the children of Adam.[27] It is to be noted, however, that Luther and his contemporary Germans did not conceive these injunctions in a literal sense as do the anti-Semitics of our day. The greater part of the book notwithstanding its severity was positive, Biblical, and especially Old Testament exegetics, which elucidated the Messiah-question and other matters of importance to the Jews were always aiming at Christ.

Scarcely had "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" reached the booksellers when Luther was already busy

writing another book to the Jews. The manuscript was ready on March 7 and came off the press on the 28th under the title of: "Vom SchemHamphoras: Vnd vom Geschlecht Christi. Mathei am j. Capitel", "Of Schem Hamphoras and of the kin of Christ in the first chapter of Matthew." The book contained 64 leaves with four editions appearing in 1543 and the fifth the following year. It was not translated into Latin. Luther sent a copy of it to Philip of Hesse.[28]

The title of the book came from a tale borrowed from Porchetus. In the temple of Jerusalem there was a stone on which was carved "Schem Hamphoras".[29] He who could explain the meaning of the letters of these words and learned them could accomplish whatever he wanted to. In order that the children of Israel might not overturn the earth after explaining the secret, sages placed two dogs of brass to guard the doors of the sanctuary. When someone entered who solved the mystery and came out, the dogs howled so frightfully that in his terror he forgot the words which he had learned. Jesus, too, went into the temple, learned the letters and wrote them on parchment, split open his leg and hid the writing in the wound. In repeating the words "schem hamphoras", he kept the operation from hurting and the wound healed instantly. When he came out, the dogs frightened him so that the words left his memory, but on returning home he cut out the parchment from its hiding place and was once again the possessor of the secret wisdom. Thus Jesus acquired his power to perform miracles.[30] The legend gave Luther cause to inspect the superstitions of the Jews. The devil had bewitched them so that they had to humor him and blaspheme God.[31] Just as we under the power of the Pope were without the Word of God, limiting ourselves to human doctrines which were abysmal darkness and falsehood,

so the Jews still continued in the darkness of superstition.[32] The latter half of the book studied the genealogy of Christ which Matthew developed downward from Joseph, not from Maria.

Still in the same year there appeared the last volume in the trilogy of Jewish works by the aged Luther: "Von den Letzten Worten Dauids", "On the Last Words of David".[33] A second edition appeared the same year. A Latin translation prepared by Kaspar Cruciger appeared in 1550.[34] This book of 84 leaves is a study of II Samuel 23:1-7. "On the Last Words of David", which words Luther had already earlier written about,[35] was an exegetic study in which attention was focussed upon the doctrine of the Trinity and upon the divinity of Christ. It differred from the two previous works in that it was restrained and matter of fact in style, touching even upon the Jewish question with far less severity than the former ones.

The colder attitude of the aged Luther toward Jews continued, however, to the end. His letters to Buchholzer and Joachim II, criticising the friendly policy of Brandenburg toward the Jews have been earlier mentioned.[36] When Luther was on the way in January, 1546, to effect peace among the counts of Mansfeld, he caught a chill. He wrote to his wife a letter on February 1 which began with the playful words: "To my dearly beloved housewife, Katharine Luther, owner of Zulsdorf and the Saümarket, and whatever else she may be." He continues in the same vein, making light of his illness and of the Jews, who, according to him, were responsible for it: "Dear Käthie, I became extremely weak when I was close to Eisleben, but it was my own fault. However, hadst thou been there, thou wouldst have said that either the Jews or their God were at the bottom of it. For we had to pass through a village

close to Eisleben where many Jews lived, and perhaps they blew upon me, for there is no doubt that at the village a strong wind blew in at the back of the carriage, penetrating through my doctor's hat, threatening to turn my brain into ice." But that his attitude toward the Jews was not all good-natured is indicated by the continuing portion of the letter:

"When the principal matters are arranged, I must endeavor to banish the Jews. Count Albrecht does not like them, and has tried to expose them, but as yet no one has meddled with them. If God will, I shall help Count Albrecht, and speak about them from this pulpit. I drink Naumburg beer, which you praised so highly at Mansfeld, and it agrees with me excellently — — —."[37]

He put his promise to speak of the Jewish question in his sermon into effect. The day before writing this letter he had already mentioned the Jews in a sermon which he had preached. He did the same in his sermon of February 2. He dilated more at length upon them in a sermon which he preached in Eisleben on February 15, taking as text Matt. 11:25-30, of which the sub-title was "Eine vermanung wider die Juden", "A Warning Against the Jews". The sermon contained a fervent exhortation to the Jews to turn to the Messiah and let themselves be baptized. Toward the end the tone of the sermon became scolding and threatening. They had blasphemed Christ; and that was not to be tolerated for the people of Eisleben had enough to cope with in their own sins. If worse came to worst, they were to be banished. As immediate expedient, however, they were to employ Christian love and supplication in their behalf.[38] This was Luther's last sermon. Not quite three days after this he died.

Foremost among the men who immediately following this period represented the severer attitude of the reaction toward the Jews was Georg Nigrinus, a minister of Giessen who in 1570 published a strongly anti-Semitic book against them.[39] Wilhelm IV, the successor to Philip of Hesse was friendly to the Jews and undertook to defend them against Nigrinus.[40] Nigrinus with his opinions belongs, however, to the orthodox era, which is not in the scope of the time which we are depicting.

In searching for reasons for Luther's changed attitude toward the Jews it might perhaps be natural to refer first to the example offered by the Catholic Church: the aged Luther gradually abandoning the ideals of the young Luther and slipping back into the policy of his mother church. It is true that the Catholic world from time to time continued its former method as concerned the Jews. The Diet of Augsburg promulgated laws in 1530 against usury as practised by the Jews. Elector Joachim I published these decrees in Brandenburg in 1532.[41] A general persecution of Jews broke out in Portugal in 1531, as a result of which a stream of refugees headed for Holland.[42] In 1542 there were conflagrations in several cities of Germany and Austria, for which the people blamed the Jews. As a result local persecutions took place.[43] But, on the other hand, Pope Paul III (1534—1549) favored the Jews to such an extent that it aroused opposition. When Luther's attitude was at its severest in 1543, Paul III, at the suggestion of Ignatius Loyola, founded a catechumenical house in Rome for Jewish converts, for the support of which enforced taxes were levied on Roman Jews.[44] Thus the contemporary example set by the Church of Rome does not suffice to explain Luther's changed attitude, especially since he himself has never once referred to it. The general

anti-Semitic feeling in the Church which had continued for centuries before him and continued for centuries after him, was, nevertheless, a common inheritance of such nature that he could never quite free himself of it. An indication of that was the unrestricted way with which he freely appropriated examples and ideas from Catholic anti-Jewish literature.[45]

In searching for reasons for the change in Luther's attitude the question arises first of whether perhaps he had personal motives for becoming antipathic toward the Jews. Some such we might be able to find. Rumors were afloat, for example, that the Jews intended to poison him. In 1525 he had been informed by letter that a certain physician, a Polish Jew, had been paid 2000 gulden to poison him. The physician was imprisoned. But Luther was instrumental in preventing the torture trial of the suspect who was set free.[46] But who was there of the notables of the time who was not supposed to be the object of Jewish plottings! An unpleasant incident concerning a Jew had happened in 1535. At that time there stayed in Wittenberg for some months a young woman who would not disclose her name but whom Luther thought to be of the nobility. The woman had an infant child and was destitute. Kind-hearted as he was, Luther pitied her and sent her with a letter of recommendation to Justus Menius in Eisenach. Later it became clear that the woman was a sister of Luther's friend, the knight Hartmuth von Kronberg, whom a certain Jew had betrayed. Luther took a hand in the matter and to his great joy was able to effect a reconciliation between the lady and her relatives.[47] Luther had other unpleasant experiences of the Jewish teachers of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg. Johannes Böschenstein, who came to Wittenberg as a docent in Hebrew in 1518

was greedy and quarrelsome. Luther has given the characterisation of him as: "A Christian in name, but in reality a typical Jew (judaeissimus)". The succeeding professor, a baptized Jew named Matthaeus Adrianus, brought about similar embarrasments. When Adrianus departed Luther observed drily: "So sind wir von diesem Menschen befreit worden."[48]

Even if Luther had, however, experienced some unpleasantness at the hands of some individual Jew it would have been contrary to his honest and generous nature to punish the whole nation because of it. The same must be said concerning the idea that it would have been coldly expedient church policy, to seek at the beginning of the Reformation the favor of all, even of the humanists and the Jews, but that, as the position became more assured, Luther would have turned against those who did not join him at the start of the battle.[49] When he who has fought against a tyrant conquers, he himself becomes a tyrant. But Luther was not one of this ilk. On the contrary it can be reckoned as a fault against him sometimes that his lack of political vision meant defeats to the cause of the Reformation.

Luther was a deeply religious character who sought always to evaluate matters in the light of Scripture according to the way in which its word had enlightened him in each instance. From that as well as from his strongly fluctuating nature it partly came about that he could quickly change his mind concerning some matter. The best example of this is his attitude in the Peasant War. Something of the same nature occurred in his attitude toward the Jews, although the change in opinion was not nearly so sharp. A changed situation made him search the Bible for guidance

to his thinking. And from the rich store-house of the Bible it was possible to find directions that could be applied to the new situation.

In Luther's estimation a new situation had really arisen in the Jewish problem. He had hoped and even believed that they would lend an ear to thoughts of the Gospel which at the beginning of the Reformation surged into being. Jesus, to be sure, had been "born a Jew". And now that He had come to the forefront once more, appearing from beneath the chaff of human doctrines, there had really been cause to believe that His own tribe would receive Him. With that in mind and in order to help them to emerge from darkness into light Luther had written his book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew". But these bright hopes had turned out to be premature. To the Jews the Reformation was, after all, a struggle among Christians themselves, which did not greatly interest them. The greater majority of them remained as distant from the Evangelical Church as it had been from the Church of Rome. Luther found out to his sorrow that it was difficult to convert them.[50] And the staunchness of the faith of even converts was often questionable. Luther referred to this fact jokingly as well as seriously. For example, in one of his sermons based on the 23rd chapter of Matthew he told a tale of a Jew in Emperor Frederick I's court who wanted to become a Christian. With the emperor's permission he had himself baptized. But the emperor had prepared a surprise for him. Two piles of faggots had been set up for a burning at the stake and the Jew was told that one was for Christians and the other for Jews and that he could choose upon which he wanted to die. For after having been baptized nothing better could happen to him than to get straight to heaven. And the Jew died a Jew! In the same

sermon he told the story about the Jew in Cologne who had left orders in his testament that the images of a cat and a mouse were to be set up on his grave. "As long as it takes for these animals to become one so long the Jew remained a Christian," explained Luther.[51] Already in 1510 in his "Opinion", written for the Emperor, Reuchlin had spoken of knowing Jews, who received baptism out of fear of persecution, in the hope of success or for some reason which had little to do with religion. Similar instances had evidently come to Luther's notice. It was maintained of Johannes Böschenstein, the Hebrew professor at Wittenberg, that he was "a Christian to the Christians and a Jew to the Jews".[52]

Luther knew the rabbis to be responsible for the apostasy of the converts. When a Jew had become converted upon the testimony of the Bible, the rabbis took him in hand until he once more returned to Moses. In their defense the apostates explained that they had to believe their rabbis just as Christians believed the Pope and his decrees. "Thus they have answered me myself when I have at one time disputed with them and set the Bible to oppose them", Luther related.[53]

As has earlier been stated in telling of the origin of the book "Wider die Sabbather"[54] the zeal of the Jews could reach such stages in certain isolated cases that they enticed Christians away from their faith. That had been always considered an outright attack of Satan against the Church.[55] Luther pronounced harsh judgment upon it. He often also deplored that fact that in their schools and outside of them the Jews often cursed Christians. By such an act they cut themselves off from the people of God.[56] Referring to God's word to Abraham: "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed"[57] Luther affirmed that by cursing those

whom God blesses they become accursed themselves. They considered Christians only "fools and geese". Nor did he by favoring them want to strengthen them in their errors.[58]

The Jews' basic error was their wrong relation to the Bible which they literally turned upside down.[59] Their Bible commentary was just falsehood and obscureness. They were "thieves, robbers and forgers of holy writings".[60] Their greatest sin was their abandonment of the doctrine of the Trinity. The Hebrew unitarianism was one of the gravest accusations against the Anabaptists as well.[61] "Semi-Judaei" was the most frightful accusation that could be hurled against anyone at all. But the Jews went even further. In countless homes, Luther complained, they blasphemed Christ. They maintained that He was the illegitimate son of Maria and a certain carpenter and they called Maria "Haria", which according to Luther meant "sterquilinium, ein dreckhauffen".[62] Wigand Lauze, the historian of Philip of Hesse, wrote in the middle of the 1500's that "their rabbis mock at our Lord daily with terrible words of blasphemy".[63] All these recalled anew their "Old Crime" for which they were suffering merited punishment. Their abandoning of Sunday while keeping the Sabbath[64] and the other customs which differed from those of Christians were relatively insignificant matters compared with their fight against Christ.

A too delicate adjustment to the Jews after all that was known of their false doctrine and their blaspheming of sacred matters would in Luther's mind only have served to strengthen their depravity and made the Christians party to the sins of others[65] against which Paul had specifically warned.[66]

Together with these purely religious reasons there also appeared two causes of chiefly national character which

cooled the relations of Luther and in general the whole German Reformation with the Jews. These were the Jews' money-lending and their inferred relations with the Turks.

Mediaeval Germany was not a wealthy land. Industry and commerce, compared with the active commercial life of Southern Europe was only at the beginning of its development. The Hanseatic League which looked imposing viewed from the North, was a comparatively modest commercial enterprise when viewed from the angle of Venice and Genoa. The cities were small and little money was in circulation. So much the more burdensome did the endless church taxation practised by Rome feel.[67] The swelling of acclesiastical tax collections gave birth to innumerable complaints from individuals, cities and rulers. These "gravamina nationis Germaniae" gave Luther ample source material for his criticism of the greed of the papacy which sucked the products of the labor and sweat of Germany's men dry. The Reformation performed one of its national services by diminishing the endless money-stream flowing to Rome.

But simultaneously the increasing number of Jews caused chiefly by a stream of refugees arriving from the Iberian Peninsula with their increasing money-lending took the place of the recently conquered evil although in a much more modest form. It was therefore natural that the attention of economically minded Germans was drawn to the matter, exaggerating it into larger proportions than it really had. The money-lending of the Jews began to be blamed more and more generally for the financial difficulties of the German principalities.[68]

The crux of the matter was the question of interest and the rate. The clear injunction of the Mosaic Law: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother"[69] and the psalm-

ist's version: "Lord, who shall dwell in thy holy hill? — — — He that putteth not out his money to usury",[70] had been carried over in mediaeval times to Canon Law. Nor was usury according to general opinion contrary to Biblical injunction alone, but contrary to Aristotle and to nature.[71] It was existing without working and selling time which belonged to God alone.[72] "Nummus non paret nummum", "Money does not beget money", was the uniquevocal stand of scholasticism. But with the emergence of the new economic order as commerce and industry developed, these principles showed themselves to be untenable. The papal collectors of tithes had in some places been the first professional money-lenders.[73] The situation had become especially profitable and enticing to the Jews who had the Old Testament law on their side: "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury."[74] A controversy raged among Catholic theologians on the issue known as "the five per cent controversy".[75] Five per cent interest had become general in Germany and had spread throughout Europe under the name of Contractus Germanicus. Johann Eck, for example, supported this custom.

Luther, who did not fully grasp the change that had taken place in the economic field, followed basically the opinion of the scholastics in writing his "Treatise on Usury" in 1520, and "On Trading and Usury", 1524, although he admitted of exceptions under the name of reasonable profits of trade.[76] But taking five or six per cent interest was in his opinion sinful usury.[77]

Calvin indicated his stand on the matter in a letter written to his friend Sachinus in 1545 in answer to a question that had been put to him. In this letter, known as "De usuris responsum", he gave as his opinion that the injunction of Deut. 23:19 was no longer in force over that which

"justice and love" decreed. Without designating any specific amount he urged that moderation be used.[78] Five per cent was considered reasonable in Geneva, for the Ordinances of 1547 forbade taking over that under penalty of forfeiting the capital.[79]

The real share of the Jews in the economic life of Central Europe during the Reformation is hard to define. That they could not have been lagging behind when "all the world was running after those trades and occupations that will bring the most gain", as Martin Bucer deplored to be the spirit of the times,[80] is natural. The humanist and Benedictine abbott, Johannes Heidenberg of Trittenheim or Trithemius (d. 1516) had already bemoaned the practice of usury among Jews which had aroused opposition to them. His advice was to set them to "useful work in the fields and workshops", thus keeping them away from "all shameful treachery".[81] The Augsburg Diet, as has earlier been stated,[82] gave a general statement against the Jewish practice of usury, which Joachim I published two years later in Brandenburg. Melchior of Ossa, a student of the commercial life of Saxony, who was given the task in 1548 of saving the ruined finances of the Duchy of Henneberg, wrote in his diary that the cause of the duchy's financial difficulties were the numerous Jews.[83] These examples serve to show sufficiently clearly that the question was to the forefront.

The earliest statement which the author of this study has found on the subject by Luther is in his book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew". Luther stated that the Jews were forced to usury for all other means of earning a living were closed to them. How then could they remedy the matter?[84] This kind and sympathetic stand taken by the Reformer changed at the same time that his relations with

the Jews in general cooled. "Let those ne'er-do-wells be rightly banished for their impenitence and their usury",[85] he once shouted in his Table Talk in 1536. In December of the same year he uttered harsh words on the subject together with the hebraist Matthaeus Aurigallus and the surgeon Andreas Balbier.[86] The question of usury developed in his mind to a more insuperable obstacle. "In every way they are teaching their own to practice usury; we not only do not practise it but preach against it and hate it with all our hearts."[87]

But Luther did not deal more extensively with the question of usury until he wrote his book "Von den Juden und ihren Lügen", in which he pronounced severe judgment upon it. His criticism now rose from a foundation of German nationalism: the Jews were lending governments huge sums, for which reason they were considered useful. Where did they get the money? By charging high interest rates of the subjects, making them beggars! They came to Germany as refugees, but after wresting away the money and property of the Germans, they now governed them with that aid in the Germans' own country. "When a thief snatches ten gulden, he is hanged, and if he commits highway robbery, he is beheaded. But when a Jew through his usury steals and robs ten tons of gold, he still is dearer than God himself."[88] Luther's advice was to forbid usury and to take gold and silver away from them. But if a Jew became converted, part of his property was to be restored to him.[89]

The frigid attitude of Bucer and of his Cassel Opinion toward the Jews[90] was due, also, chiefly to economic reasons. The government could not, to his mind, be more merciful toward the Jews than mercy itself, for thus the wolf was easily helped and the sheep hurt. The duty of

the government, as shepherd of the people was to protect its subjects from the usury of unscrupulous Jews and Christians. The money-lending of the Jews, in particular was to be made subject to rigid supervision by the government. The confiscation of their property by the state which would loan it out to the poor at five per cent interest, might be considered.[91]

Luther's and Bucer's talk about the wide-spread money-lending and usury of the Jews being a danger to the whole country and its people was, however, greatly exaggerated. To begin with, Luther's first books on usury, "Treatise on Usury" (1520) and "On Trading and Usury" (1524) say nothing about the Jews' participation in this sin. It is hard to think that he would have left them in peace if they had in some way been noticeable factors in the matter. An even more significant thing is his silence on the Jews in his book published in 1540 "An die Pfarrherrn Wider den Wucher zu predigen", "Appeal to Rectors to Preach against Usury."[92] The reason for writing the book was the failure of crops that year and the consequent speculation in grain. The book was merciless in denouncing the usurers who grew rich at the expense of the dire need of others. "The Turks, the Tartars and the heathen are angels compared to usurers!"[93] "The usurer is a murderer."[94] But the accusations were not hurled against the Jews but against the jurists![95] If the Jewish money-lending had been noticeably widespread, now would have been the opportunity to smite them. Since this was not done, one is forced to think that in his Table Talk and especially in his book "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies", the harsh utterances were as a whole greatly exaggerated.[96] The correctness of this interpretation is attested to by the fact that in his writings Calvin does not dilate upon the Jews of his time,

not even in his letter "De usuris responsum". The Jews had been banished from Geneva already before his arrival there. When he was urged to grant them permission to return, he refused to do so. The reason for the refusal, however, was not their money-lending, but the circumstance that if they were re-admitted, the doors would have to be opened for the Catholics as well.[97]

The general conception that immediately at the beginning of the 16th century the Jews would have risen to the forefront in the financial marts of Germany arose chiefly from Luther's violent words. As a matter of fact, Jewish capitalism was still at this time, save for a very few exceptions,[98] a comparatively modest type of "pariah-capitalism".[99] On the other hand it is to be noted that the economic prosperity of many a German city began to rise as a result of the Jewish influence, a fact which the national but not economic-minded Luther did not take into consideration at all.

Another national cause which cooled the attitude of the Lutheran Reformation toward the Jews was their assumed close relationship to the sworn foes of Christians, the Turks. The fact that Luther innumerable times mentioned together "Die Turcken, Tattern und Jüden"[100] or the fact that he burst forth with the simile that Jews, Turks and Papists were at bottom as like Samson's foxes who were tied together by their tails although the heads all pulled in different directions,[101] did not indicate, to be sure, more than a general religious bellicoseness against "the enemies of Christ". Under the domination of the same feeling he could relate how in Hungary the Jews and Turks had crucified a cat to mock Christ.[102] Such parallels and relatings amongst the general dread of the Turks served, however,

to create suspicion and hatred.[103] Even more straightforward proofs of the Jews' services to the Turks were available. Thus it was mentioned that when in 1530 King Ferdinand charged with his army to reconquer Buda, which had been lost to the Turks, a certain Jewish woman by her bold action foiled the attack of the Christians and saved the city for the Turks, as a consequence of which Suleiman exempted her and her kinsmen from taxation. In his Table Talks Luther told of how Turks bribed Christian generals. Thus, for example, some military leaders had supposedly received 18,000 ducats through a Jewish intermediary and had betrayed their fellow believers.[104] Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir related in his chronicle, published in Venice in 1554, how Jews were accused in Bohemia by those who said "they were among those that troubled us in the wars of the Turks, and joined our enemies".[105] In Rome Jews were accused during the time of Pius V, and probably even earlier of prying into the affairs of Christians in their migrations from country to country and of then purveying information thus gained to the Turks.[106] Similar tales were rife in Protestant countries also. Special support to the tales of Jews allying themselves with infidels was furnished by legendary stories of Sinan, the Jew, who was a captain on the Mediterranean, under Suleiman's famous Admiral Barbarossa. All talk of "alliances" was a pure figment of the imagination. In individual cases, Jews who had sufferede indignities might perhaps seek retribution by performing services for the Turks. Jews from the domains of the Catholic Church did move to Turkey, especially to Constantinople,[107] where they had not only freedom to exist and to make a living, but also enjoyed special privileges.[108]

Luther's changed attitude toward the Jews met with immediate consequences. Scarcely had "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" and "Schem Hamphoras" appeared than the Landgrave Johann von Küstrin of Neumark announced by his letter of Feb. 3, 1543, to the City of Frankfurt a. O., that he had closed Silesia and Neumark to the Jews.[109] The same thing happened in Saxony. The Elector John Frederick had at least partly withdrawn the harsh edict against the Jews residing in Saxony issued in August 1536. Josel of Rosheim had influenced him to agree to some exceptions in 1539, of which the most important was the granting of free right of transit to Jews across his lands. After having familiarized himself with the two aforementioned books of Luther he revoked all the privileges which he had granted heretofore and declared the decree of 1536 to be again in force.[110] Similar decrees were issued by Dukes Georg and Moritz. The Elector August restricted the Jews' privileges by a law promulgated on Oct. 5, 1554.[111] Philip of Hesse, also, made the supervision of the Jews stricter, without banishing them, however. The influence of Luther's books was possibly responsible for the banishing of the Jews from Bohemia,[112] for Melchior of Ossa's fight against them in the Duchy of Henneberg, and in the prohibition issued in Schmalkalden on Sept. 2, 1555 against grave-diggers burying the bodies of Jews.[113] The reaction in Brandenburg did not begin until after the death of Joachim II in January 1571; the new Elector, Johann Georg, banished the Jews as soon as he came into power.

In general, though, the cooled attitude of the aged Luther toward the Jews did not bring about any long-standing measures. No general persecutions arose, but the activities of rulers were confined to local and short-lived measures. Although the letter of the law, as concerned the

limiting of the rights of Jews, may in some instances have been delayed for some time before being revoked, the practice soon returned, however, to the liberal basis of the early times of the Reformation. Thus, for example, Johann of Neumark as early as 1570 gave kind treatment to the Jews arriving in his country from Poland.

But it is to be noted, that Luther's many anti-Semitic dictums, torn indiscriminately from their context, still rear their heads now and then even today in the Lutheran Church which, more than many other churches, continues to use the writings of its founder. The best examples of the misleading use of Luther's name were offered by the modern anti-Jewish propaganda literature of Germany which seethed with statements from Luther introduced in such a way that the Reformer was made to appear as the ardent prophet of the modern German race-philosophy.[114]

Luther's anti-Semitic thoughts certainly did not meet with the approval of his contemporaries. Heinrich Bullinger (1504—1575), from Zürich, after reading the book "Vom Schem Hamphoras" wrote concerning it. The book, according to his mind was "swinish and filthy". "Were it the work of a swineherd, not a herder of souls, it might be a little, if very little, justifiable."[115] In his letter to Bullinger, on Dec. 28, 1543, Bucer compares Luther's coarseness with the balanced way in which Erasmus had written about the reliability of the Old Testament.[116] Andreas Osiander, a friend of Luther's, likewise severely criticised Luther's changed viewpoint. In 1545 he wrote especially about the book "Vom Schem Hamphoras" in a letter to Elias Levita in Venice. A copy of the letter together with Levita's answer fell into the hands of Melanchthon who burned it so that it would not come to Luther's notice, as becomes clear from Melanchthon's letter to

Osiander: "Nor did Luther see the copy of your letter which was sent to Elias nor did he read Elias' letter nor get the slightest inkling of the whole matter."[117] It is evident that Melanchthon is surreptitiously of the same opinion as Osiander. Evidence of this is the fact also that in sending the book in question to Philip of Hesse, he did not send with it his customary recommendation, but let it rest by merely saying briefly as the reason for sending the book "that Your Princely Grace may see, with what he at present busies himself".[118]

The aged Luther was no longer the central figure of the Reformation in the same way that the young Luther had been, nor did his thoughts arouse the same attention that they had a quarter of a century earlier. When he published the last volume in his triad of Jewish works in 1543 "Von den letzten Worten Davids", in which he again approaches the more tolerant attitude of his youth toward the Jews, this book at once circulated widely. This, too, partly shows that the predominating viewpoint of the Reformation in the Jewish question was, after all, the liberal one and the tolerant one. Melanchthon gave his recommendation to this work.[119]

The thoroughness of the reaction has been greatly exaggerated as well. When, for example, Lowenthal wrote of Luther's attitude toward the Jews: "The measures he proposed against this damned race — — — made the Dominican watch-dogs look like lambs",[120] his criticism does not do the Reformer justice. If we come to compare Luther's and, in general, the whole Reformation's Jewish policy with the words and deeds of the Catholic Church against the Jews, the Protestant Fathers will be found, despite all, to be representing the dawn of a new and more

human era for Israel. The stand of Pfefferkorn and Hochstraten remained over the time of the Reformation as the predominating stand of Rome. And the Jewish massacres of 1510 in Berlin claimed many bloody followers in the Inquisition of the Counter Reformation. Johann Eck, Luther's belilcose opponent, published in 1542 "Ains Juden büechlin", a work directed against the Jews; during the rule of Pope Julius III (1550—1555) a certain Franciscan friar, named Corneglio, who had turned to the Jewish faith was burned at the stake;[121] the possession and reading of the Talmud was forbidden and property of Jews was confiscated in Rome; Paul IV (1555—1559) issued strict injunctions against the Jews, limiting the number of synagogues, making former ghetto restrictions more stringent and requiring them once more to bear the yellow badge; at the Pope's death in 1559 a rebellion broke out in Rome caused partly by the Jewish persecutions instigated by him;[122] Pius V (1566—1572) put in force anew Paul IV's harsh laws against Jews, extending them to cover the whole church, to mention only a few examples. In the East, the treatment of the Jews was even more severe. When, for example, Ivan the Terrible conquered the city of Polotsk, he decreed that all Jews who refused to be baptized should in be drowned the Duna River.[123]

Luther's immoderate language used against the Jews is a stumbling block in the way of many a student when he has forgotten that it was the general custom in polemics and not to be taken literally. When Luther wrote of the Pope as "Romanus Antichristus", that he was "a servant of wrong, an apostle of Satan, a child of sin and a son of depravity"[124] it aroused little ill feeling. Nor again, when he complained of Christians, that many of them "cared naught for Christ, nor listened to His words, but were worse than

the pagans and the Jews",[125] this was not taken greatly to heart. Of the dear Germans he could speak quite harshly in chastizing them to mend their ways.

Paul's many harsh words to the Corinthians or John's words to the Laodicean congregation did not destroy the missionary import of their works. Despite all reaction and the many bitter thoughts, there are many useful missionary ideas in the Jewish books of the aged Luther. The disillusion which the stubborn opposition to Christianity of the Jews created, did not smother all hope of their conversion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MISSION THOUGHTS OF THE ERA OF REACTION

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Evangelical and optimistic mission thoughts were not lacking even to the aged Luther. In his letter to Josel of Rosheim in 1537 at the beginning of the era of reaction he said that he was still of the mind that Jews were to be treated kindly and that he hoped that God would look mercifully upon them and lead them back to their Messiah.[1] And in his last sermon, three days before his death, he was still of the same mind: "We want to act in a Christian way toward them and offer them first of all the Christian faith, that they might accept the Messiah, who, after all, is their kinsman and born of their flesh and blood and is of the real seed of Abraham of which they boast. How I grieve over the fact that Jewish blood has of late grown more watery and more impure. You are first of all to urge them to turn to the Messiah and let themselves be baptized, so that we might see that they took the matter seriously. Unless they do that, we do not wish to tolerate them, for Christ tells us to be baptized and to believe in Him." Having berated them for mocking Christ, which was not to be borne, for the people of Eisleben had enough to bear in their own sins, he continues: "But when they become converted, give up usury, and accept Christ, we willingly consider them our brothers. — — — We still want to treat them with Christian love and to pray for them, so that they might become converted and would receive the Lord."[2]

These evangelical thoughts, however, remained rather in the background. The reluctance of the Jews to adopt the ideas of the Gospel with the responsiveness which Luther had looked for drove him to planning more effective methods. Although he might admit that it was impossible to force anyone into believing,[3] he still had convincing reasons for forceful methods, in his own mind. The too tender treatment accorded to unconverted Jews made the Christians partners to their sins. The fire of God's wrath burned above the heads of the Jews, beneath which fire Christians had no reason to try to go and which Christians were unable to extinguish either.

Therefore, "in prayer and in the fear of God" a "severe, or sharp kind-heartedness", "eine scharffe barmhertzigkeit", was to be applied to them in the hope that at least a few could be saved from the burning. This "sharp kind-heartedness" was to consist in the burning of their synagogues "for the glory of Our Lord and of Christendom" so that God might see that Christians would not tolerate right under their noses meeting-hoduses in which Christ was blasphemed; in the razing of their dwellings so that they would be forced into the trouble and misery in which they continually pretended to be; in the confiscation of their prayer books and the Talmud; in forbidding the rabbis to teach "bey leib und leben"; in prohibiting their trade rights and money-lending; in the setting of young and vigorous Jews to bodily labor to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow as had been "commanded to the children of Adam."[4]

These pages taken from "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" which have been interpreted innumerable times as evidence of the blackest anti-Semitism were, after all, nothing more than a temporary re-awakening in Luther of the

mediaeval crusading mission spirit: when the peaceful preaching of the Gospel had not brought results, the duty of the authority was to use forcible methods. The Jews must clearly comprehend that clinging to Moses was of no avail, but that in Christianity alone were the blessings not only of the future life but of the present one as well and that professing Christianity was, first of all, a decree of Almighty God, the carrying out of which belonged to Christian authority.

Luther's harsh dictum must in no way be taken literally. If he really had wanted to have synagogues burnt and Jewish dwellings razed, he would have had around him in the students at Wittenberg, for example, a willing group to effect such deeds. The nearest object was to attract the government's attention to the matter. He had failed. The governing forces must do something toward converting the Jews.

Martin Bucer had expressed the same opinion some years before in his book concerning the Jewish question,[5] if those in authority who have been born and baptized as members of Christ would see to it that everybody was forced into godliness, the good God would lay the question to their hearts how they could lead to Christ such as had been strangers to Him from birth, like Jews, Turks and pagans.[6] As concerned the Jews, Bucer in his Cassel Opinion favored allowing them to remain in the country and to force them to attend Christian worship which was to be arranged for them specifically, since it was to be hoped that at least a few of them would become converted.[7]

The idea was not new. As early as 1434 at the Council of Basel such a decision had been made. This forgotten decree the writings of Pfefferkorn had once more recalled to mind. Bucer's suggestion, to which some incentive may

have been given also by Calvin's "Recommendations" concerning church discipline in Geneva, of the previous year, was put into effect in Hesse in 1543, when the Landgrave decreed that the Jews and their wives and children over eight years old were to attend all church services and listen diligently to the Word of God and that the rectors of churches, the curates and beadles were to see to it that if the Jews, or their wives or children neglected to attend worship, they were to make note of the fact and report it to the authorities.[8] Whether the law was enforced, is not ascertainable. Probably it remained a dead letter.[9]

Luther, in accordance with his more liberal evangelistic viewpoint, may not have insisted upon compulsory listening to sermons. In spite of all the harsh words of the period of reaction he relied in practice upon missionary activity along the path of conviction. There is no question of a doubt but what the Jewish works of his published in 1543 were intended for mission works. In his earlier mentioned letter to Josel of Rosheim of 1537 he wrote: "Concerning that matter" (i.e. of leading the Jews to their Messiah) "if God grants me the opportunity and time, I shall write a booklet, if perchance I might win over a few from your fatherly tribe of patriarchs and prophets and lead them to your promised Messiah."[10] De Wette infers that "Wider die Sabbather", of the year 1538 was that promised work.[11] This inference is supported by Justus Jonas who considered that the aforementioned book served the salvation of faithless Israel, as he stated it in the preface to his Latin translation of 1539, to Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt.[12] In the book, however, the matters which Luther promised to consider are touched upon so little that it is difficult to think it the planned mission work. This negative in-

terpretation is strengthened especially by the last words of the book: "— — — the matter is so large in scope that it must be handled in a mission epistle."[13]

This "mission epistle" turned out to be "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies". Modern missions which conceive their work as being merely exhortation through the love of Christ do not find any missionary spirit worth mention in this book whose purpose was chastisement to Christ through His righteousness. But 400 years ago ideas were different.

Catholic missions were quite ready to use forceful methods. And on the Protestant side, as well, when opportunity offered, there was a tendency to give point to the words of Jesus: "Compel them to come in."[14] Luther conceived the written attacks of Jewish converts, such as Paulus of Burgos and Antonius Margaritha against their former brethren in faith to be missionary acts, deploring the fact that the Jews had not heeded these, and comparing their work to his own attempt at winning over the Jews.[15]

That "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" and the two subsequent Jewish books by Luther were intended as missionary works becomes clear from the fact, also, that there was no need for defending the Christian faith against the Jews. Tertullian had in his time written the well-known book "Adversus Iudaeos" with this intent, for in the Carthage of his time the propaganda of the Jews meant a real danger to the Christian church. There was no question of such danger in the Germany of Luther's time, nor did he refer to any such. The Moravian incident which had inspired the book "Wider die Sabbather" had been evidently smothered at the beginning. "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" as well as "Vom Schem Hamphoras" both ended with a beautiful mission wish. "May Christ,

our dear Lord, mercifully convert them and preserve us firmly and steadfastly in the knowledge of Him, who is eternal life. Amen." These were the closing words of the first-named book.[16] The latter ended with the words: "To those (of the Jews) who want to be converted, may God grant His grace, so that at least a few of them together with us would acknowledge and praise God the Father, our Creator, and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, in eternity. Amen." [17] And the last work in the Jewish book trilogy "On the Last Words of David" was a book of peace almost throughout. Luther certainly did not want the Jewish question to swell into another Peasant War but hoped that the ideas of the Gospel would prevail in this matter, too.

Luther's chief intention in these books, as he stated in "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" was to indicate that the words of Jesus still held: "He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him."[18] His arguments to prove this can be divided into two groups. He first indicatetd that the time during which the Mosaic Law was in effect ended with Christ; and secondly, that the fifteen hundred years of persecution endured by the Jews showed that they had committed an error in rejecting Christ.

As far as the question of the law was concerned, in the first place, Luther averred that the Jews were "veritable liars and bloodhounds", since they twisted about the whole Bible.[19] This "twisting" he already dilated upon at great length in "Wider die Sabbather". The Jews used the word "leolam", "eternal", as their weapon. The Mosaic Law, according to their way of reasoning, was "leolam". This explanation, said Luther, sufficed for ignorant folk, but was ludicrous to the one who understood the least Hebrew.

He took as example Exodus 21:6 in which mention is made of boring through a servant's ear at the door-post as a sign that he will remain with the household "forever", "leolam". "The Jews well know that neither master, servant, nor house are eternal." Equally "leolam" is their Law as well![20] They had averred that all peoples would be brought to subjection under their law. Luther referred to a certain saying used by themselves that on the coming of the holy of holies, their anointing was to cease.[21] The "anointing", "unctio", according to Luther's explanation, was the kingship and priesthood of Israel. They had ceased, since Christ had already come.[22] And if they chanced to hit upon support in Jesus' words: "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill",[23] they were to be told that since they did not believe in Jesus, He could not help them in this particular either. They had best ponder the words of Jeremiah concerning the new covenant which the Lord was to make with Israel and the house of Judah.[24] The Mosaic Law was not worth boasting about; rather should hearts be humbled in thinking about it. How had Jews as well as Christians abided by the law? The highest that could be said of either of them was the word of the psalmist: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered."[25] "Miserere me, Deus" was the more appropriate attitude for the Jew as well as Christian rather than boasting of some law.[26]

Of the various points of the law he had already touched upon Sabbath question in his book "Wider die Sabbather", demonstrating especially with the aid of Isaiah how the observance of the Sabbath was to cease with the appearance of the Holy Word of God.[27]

More important, however, was the question of circumcision which was the alpha and omega of the Jewish re-

ligion. That was to them "the everlasting covenant"[28] which God had made with Abraham and Isaac. The Jews might admit that the Mosaic Law was in force only a limited time. But the covenant of circumcision, which was entered into before the time of Moses was irrevocable.[29] Luther remarked upon this among other things in his Table Talks to the effect that after Genesis Moses said nothing about bodily circumcision but spoke of the circumcision of the heart "just as if he wanted to say: It is little to be regarded".[30] Just as during Old Testament times the circumcision of the heart and ears symbolically[31] was more important than the bodily act, so under the new covenant their place was taken by baptism and the Eucharist.[32] The insignificance of circumcision was also evidenced by the fact that Joseph did not circumcise Pharaoh, nor Jonah the king of Nineveh, nor Daniel Nebuchadnezzar![33] When Jews began to circumcise their proselytes it was a "wholly new invention",[34] of which the Mosaic Law knew nothing.[35] The covenant of circumcision lasted but a limited time, ceasing with the coming of Christ.

Jesus had prophesied that because of its impenitence and sinfulness Jerusalem would be laid waste.[36] The Jews' Great Crime, the crucifying of Christ had brought on their heads the wrath of God.[37] From early times the conception had become fixed in the Christian church that the instigators of the destruction of Jerusalem and the banishment of the Jews were performing God's work.[38] Following in the footsteps of Lyra and other forerunners, Luther went about developing sweeping proofs from this premise in order to demonstrate to the Jews that Jesus was, in truth, the promised Messiah. The sacrifices and priesthood which rested upon the Mosaic Law were neither possible nor valid outside of Jerusalem and the temple. Old Jerusalem was

destroyed and in the new there were not even Jews living. All their false interpretations of the seventy year-weeks and other Old Testament prophecies could not rectify this matter. God had promised that the seat of David was not to be destroyed.[39] And He could not lie. The Jews tried to get around this difficulty by explaining that the throne of David had been destroyed for 1500 years because of their sins, but that it would be restored again when the people repented and the Messiah came. What, asked Luther, was the heinous sin for which God's wrath rested upon them for fifteen hundred years? The world did not know of another such terrible visitation of God's wrath. Some rabbis had explained that it was the worship of the golden calf during the time of wandering in the wilderness which constituted the sin.[40] But God had sent them His prophets and kings after that sin . "Let him say who knows; say then, dear Jew, what is the sin called, for which God has so long been angered with you and has not sent His Messiah."[41] The key to the explanation was in the 31st chapter of Jeremiah: the Jews had broken the old covenant which had become invalid because of their sins; but He had promised to make a new covenant in which He was to forgive them their sins and to forget them. This had happened in Jesus, the Messiah, and God's promises had become fulfilled in Him. There was their unspeakable sin, as a result of which Jerusalem, the temple, the law, kingship and priesthood were in ashes and they themselves beset among earth's peoples.[42] Only in the light of Christ would the real meaning of Moses and the prophets become clear to them.[43]

Luther was by no means alone in these mission ideas. Sebastian Münster, who was born in Ingelheim, Germany, in 1489, and who died in Basel on May 23, 1552, must be mentioned first of all together with him. Münster was a

Franciscan monk who joined Lutheranism during the early phases of the Reformation. He studied Hebrew under Eliah Levita himself, translating and publishing his philological works later. From the year 1524 on he acted as professor of Hebrew and theology at Heidelberg, and from 1529 on at Basel. In the years 1534—5 he published at Basel an Old Testament provided with a parallel text in Hebrew and German. His most famous work was the "Cosmographia universa" which appeared in German in Basel in 1541. This 6-volume work contained among other things 26 maps and nearly 500 woodcuts. The work succeeded in appearing in 46 editions in various languages before it became antiquated.

Preoccupation with geographic problems may have drawn Münster's attention to non-Christian peoples. The position of Hebrew instructor as well as the consorting with rabbis in any event aroused a strong desire in him to do something to win over the Jews to Christianity. Münster started from the practical principle of the Reformation that the Bible must be given to the people in their own language. The Jews were still without the Gospel. He was the proper man for translating the New Testament into Hebrew. To be sure, he succeeded in translating only a part, for the New Testament did not appear in Hebrew until 1599. But he did lay a lasting foundation for Jewish missions, however. Münster chose the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews as the books to be got first into the hands of the Jews for in his opinion these two books were written specifically for the Jews.[44]

The Hebrew translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew appeared in Basel in 1537 under the title "Evangelivm secvadvm Matthaevm in lingva hebraica, cum uersione latina atque succinctis annotationibus Sebastiani Munsteri.

Ad inuictissimum Angliae Regem epistola Sebast. Munsteri. Opus antiquum sed iam recens ex officina Henrici Petri typis cuulgatum. Basileae anno restitvtae salvtis M. D. xxxvll. Mense Martio." According to Münster's conception the Hebrew text as published by him was the original form of the Gospel according to Matthew. In reality it was a poor translation of some Latin or Greek text.[45]

Most important from the standpoint of this study, however, is not the question of the date or value of the text published by Münster but the question of why he published this Gospel of St. Matthew. The whole work is specifically intended as a mission work for the Jews. At the beginning of the book there is a 33-page treatise on Christianity written in Hebrew and Latin.[46] First there is a broad affirmation that Christianity is the perfect faith since it is based upon the whole Bible and because its God has existed before the creation of the world. Münster expounds the doctrine of the Trinity with the help of snow, ice and water similes: just as these are of the same substance in different forms, so are the persons of the Trinity the same. The pluralis majestatis of Genesis[47] is explained as meaning the Trinity. This is followed by a treatise on Christ with the customary explanation of the word "alma" and of the Messiah. The treatise is brought to a close with the Apostolic Creed and concludes with this forceful statement: "This is our true and rightful faith, by which alone we are saved, and he who does not believe it will surely eternally perish, nor will the shedding of the blood of Christ nor his atonement benefit him before the Lord."[48]

There follows on pp. 34—55[49] a presentation of the Jewish faith and after this on pp. 56—91 a refutation of the most common errors of the Jews, with the theme revolving naturally around the points concerning the Messiah and

the question of the Trinity. The concluding pages of the introduction are dedicated "ad pium lectorem". The translation of the Gospel proper bears the title: "Lex Dei nova qvae est doctrina et vita Christi", "The New Law of God, which is the teaching and life of Christ". At the end of every chapter explanations are repeated in two languages. — A second printing of the book appeared in Basel; likewise in Paris in 1551.

In 1557 Münster published a translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, entitled: "Epistola D. Pauli ad Hebraeos, Hebraice & Latine." The numerous annotations, which had swelled the Gospel of St. Matthew into a large volume, Münster omitted from this work. Still in the same year, 1557, these two works appeared in Basel as one volume.[50]

In addition to these works Münster published two other Hebrew-Latin books written with mission intent for learned Jews. The first of these appeared in 1529 under the title "Christiani hominis cum Judaeo pertinaciter prodigiosis suis opinionibus et Scripturae violantibus interpretationibus addicto colloquim, hebraice. Basileae 1529." A second edition of this "The Dialogue of a Christian with a Jew who persists stubbornly in his pernicious beliefs and wrong interpretations of the Bible", appeared in 1539.[51] In 1539 in Basel was published "Messias Christianorvm et Judaeorvm Hebraice et Latine" which 200 years later an English Jew by the name of Paul Isaiah translated into English.[52]

This book is in the form of animated conversation. The Christian sees a strange man approaching and addresses him in Hebrew. The stranger replies in the same language and is therefore a Jew. "How did you guess I was a Jew?" asks the stranger. "For you are black and uncomely, and not white as other men," is the answer. The Jew wonders

how this can be possible, since Christian men love Jewish women and seem to consider them more comely than their own. And the Jew proudly maintains that as God's chosen people they "are more comely than all the nations of the earth".[53] When the "comeliness question" is disposed of, the conversers move on to the Jew's dwelling. There ideas are exchanged in all friendliness about Jewish demonology which the Christian proves is not based on the Bible, about creation and other matters, with the conversation finally reaching its climax in the question of the Messiah and eschatology. The only answer which the Jew can give to the tarrying of the Messiah is that the wisdom and ways of the Lord are inscrutable. The Christian finally forces the Jew to admit that the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, as one who would be a temporal ruler with his harems, can not be borne out by religion. The book is written throughout in a comparatively frienly and sympathetic spirit. Münster does not want to smite the Jews but his purpose is to help them to find the truth. Therefore, it is no wonder that this conversation came to be used subsequently for a long time in the work of Jewish missions.

The Reformation attempts to win over the Jews like those of other ages seldom brought results. Some mention of a few baptizings have been preserved in documents, however. In one of his Table Talks Luther tells of two rabbis who "renounced their error" and were baptized "in the presence of the whole university of Wittenberg".[54] This brief mention indicates how important the matter was considered. In his letter to the baptized Jew, Bernhard, Luther speaks of having heard of some Jews being baptized in Cologne and expressed his joy over the matter.[55] He returned to the subject in one of his sermons as well.[56] In another sermon based on Matt. 23 he related the following

incident: A certain Jew had been receiving instruction in the Christian religion for a year but decided that before he was baptized he would go to Rome "in order to see also the head of the churches." Luther, Melanchthon and other theologians objected, fearing that Rome would frighten him away from the whole Christian faith. But the Jew went and after seeing all the unchristian procedure of that place came back to ask for baptism. He explained that if the God of the Christians was not kind and merciful, He could not endure the activities of Rome for an instant.[57]

Probably the first form for Jewish baptism in the Evangelical Church dates from the year 1539. On the Fourth Sunday in Lent of that year Egidius Mecheler baptized a certain Jew whom he together with Magister Sigismund Kirchner had taught the tenets of the Christian faith. They related the progress of the matter in a booklet published under the title of: "The teaching and examining of a certain Jewish cathecumen by Egidius Mecheler and Magister Sigismund Kirchner, which Jew was converted to Christianity and baptized at Erfurt on Laetare Sunday in the year 1539."[58] At the beginning of the book was the form used in the baptismal ceremony.[59] The author of this study was not able to avail himself of the text of this form.

In Luther's Table Talks from the year 1540[60] some of the Reformer's instructions concerning Jewish baptism have been preserved. The instructions fall into six parts:

I. The catechumen is to be given a name, or is to be allowed to pick one out for himself.

II. He is to be catechised on the ten commandments.

III. He is to confess his sins and to admit that he has need of the Saviour-Messiah who has saved him from "sin, death and the power of the devil".

IV. This is the crux of the whole form. The Jewish catechumen is to be asked: "Do you also believe that Our Lord Christ Jesus is the Messiah promised of the law and prophets, of the seed of Abraham and of the house of David and born of the immaculate Virgin Mary, the true man and God, whom the Father has given unto us, that he might suffer for our sins, and in order to render us sanctified and immortal through the Holy Spirit, all of which he has merited and given to us without our works?" To this question the catechumen was to reply by reading the creed.

V. Let the catechumen recite the Lord's Prayer, since the recital of the creed which he has just done means that we can approach God as children of the father, and since Joel says, "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered."[61]

VI. Let the catechumen be exhorted as follows: "Do not, therefore, doubt hereafter; your sins shall be forgiven to you and you shall be called a child of God and as such you shall remain through Christ Jesus, the only Son of God, as a believer in whom you have now become. God's grace be with you." The catechumen shall say: "Amen."[62]

In Luther's Table Talks from the year 1541 there have been preserved some of his instructions in the conducting of Jewish baptisms. The instructions naturally reflect the usage prevailing in the Evangelical Church. Luther's reply to Menius who inquired about the matter was as follows: "You must fill a large tub with water, and, having divested the Jew of his clothes, cover him with a white garment. He must then sit down in the tub and you must baptize him quite under the water. The ancients, when they were baptized, were attired in white, whence the first Sunday after Easter, which was peculiarly consecrated to this ceremony, was called "dominica in albis". This garb was ren-

dered the more suitable, from the circumstance that it was, as now, the custom to bury people in a white shroud and baptism, you know, is an emblem of our death. I have no doubt that when Jesus was baptized in the river Jordan, he was attired in a white robe."[63] — The oldest forms of Jewish baptism of the Hessian church, according to Frick, date from the years 1545 and 1546.[64]

CHAPTER NINE

THE RELATION OF THE JEWS TO THE REFORMATION

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Rabbi Joshua wrote the following story into his Hebrew chronicles[1] of the beginning of the Reformation: "And it came to pass, when the Pope Julius began to build the great high place which is in Rome (St. Peter's), that he sent the Franciscan Friars into all the districts of the uncircumcised. And he gave them power to loose and to bind, and to deliver souls from perdition. And they departed and cried with a loud voice, 'Take off the earrings of your wives and daughters (Exodus 32:2) and bring them for the building of the high place; and it shall come to pass when ye shall come, that ye shall save the souls of your generation from perdition.' And it came to pass, after the death of Julius, that the Pope Leo sent again, and they went, as before, into the cities of Ashkenaz (Germany), and they were lifted up. And it came to pass whenever the Germans would speak, saying, 'How could ye say this thing, and how can the pope do it?' they answered them proudly, saying, 'Ye shall be cursed if ye do not believe, for there is no faith in you; and ye shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.' And there was one Martin (Luther), a monk, a skilful and wise man, and he also said unto them, 'Why are ye not ashamed when ye let your voice be heard on high speaking such dreams?' And the priests could not give an answer; and they behaved with madness after their manner, and they anathematized him in the year 1518, and the wrath of Martin was much kindled. And Martin opened

his mouth and preached with a loud voice against the pope, and against the dreams and the abominations of the popes, but still he delighted in THAT MAN (Jesus), and many gathered themselves unto him. And he made them statutes and ordinances, and spake revolt against the wise men of the Church; and he would explain from his own heart their law and the words of Paul; and they went not after the precepts of the popes; and their laws are two different laws until this day."

From behind Rabbi Joshua's Old Testament way of expressing himself a friendly attitude can be sensed toward the "skilful and wise man", Luther, for was not "the wrath of Martin much kindled" precisely against the worst foes of the Jews. For the Jews were as deeply affronted as were the men of the Reformation by the Catholic Church's adoration of the Virgin, of saints, of relics. Both had suffered alike for their conscience's sake. Rome had branded both with the mark of the heretic. But no such love as springs between fellow sufferers and sharers of a common fate sprang up between the Protestants and Jews, any more than at first appeared between the Lutherans and the Reformed churches. Contrasts were too great. The Jewish masses conceived the Reformation as a struggle within the ranks of the Christians themselves, toward which they were not obliged to take a definite stand. But to the ears of the civilized Jews who were following the trend of their times, the Protestant revolution must have had the ring of vox humana in the concert of hate and mistrust to which they had become accustomed to listening.

Reuchlin, Hutten and Sickingen showed themselves to be their active friends and supporters. And Luther joined the same group with his book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew". It was no wonder, therefore, that the Jews read

and circulated his books. The Marani of Antwerp are said to have sent them during the early days of the Reformation to Spain, their homeland, and even as far away as Palestine.[2] Luther wrote in 1523 that he had heard with satisfaction from the lips of Jews themselves, who had been converted to the Catholic faith, that it was the Gospel as proclaimed by the Reformation which had made them Christians in the real meaning of the word.[3]

Later Luther had cause to deplore the fact that the Jews' interest in the Reformation had arisen from a false hope. The preoccupation of the humanists and reformers with the study of Hebrew had aroused the conjecture that the Christians might join the Jews. Maimonides had already divided the peoples of the earth into Jews, Christians, Mohammedans and pagans and had taught that the historic mission of Christianity and of Mohammedanism was to serve the pagans as a stepping-stone to Judaism.[4] "But their hope is futile!" Luther exclaimed in his Table Talks. If any Jew really held any such hope, Bucer's policy and Luther's works demonstrated it to be more than baseless.[5] The Jews had some reason to mourn the loss of their friends.

When Bucer had published his book "Von den Juden", Josel of Rosheim wrote a "letter of sympathy to his brethren against Bucer's booklet", "Josephi oder Josels juden trostschrift an seine brüder wider Buceri büchlin". He complains that by forcing them to listen to sermons, an attempt is made to shake the faith which they have professed since the days of Abraham up to the present day. He speaks, to be sure, of having been to Strassburg to hear the sermons of the erudite Capito, but of having slipped out just as soon as he began to touch upon matters of faith.[6] Josel, whom Luther had called friend, sent a letter on

May 28, 1543, to the magistrates of Strassburg, complaining about Luther's changed attitude and requesting that the circulation of the book "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" be forbidden in the city. There was reason enough for the petition if the story told by Josel is to be credited that a certain churchman in Hochfelden, inspired by Luther's book had urged to slay the Jews![7] After reading "Vom Schem Hamphoras" he sent a like petition concerning that on June 11.[8] Josel affirmed that the Jews did not blaspheme Christ, as Luther maintained, but in their humility tried to follow Moses and the prophets. God, who had once saved his chosen ones out of the lion's mouth and from the fiery furnace and had burned with fire those who cast Jewish youths into the furnace, would again protect his people.[9] A certain Jew by the name of Dulcius from Leipheim planned to write a rebuttal to Luther's book, but he died before he could carry out his purpose.[10] No other writings appeared to refute the arguments in the book.

There were three reasons why the Jews thus lightly passed over the fact of Luther's changed attitude. In the first place, their attention was directetd at about this same time to a greater danger which was threatening them in Catholic Austria and Bohemia. In 1542 there were huge conflagrations there in many cities. Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir wrote in his Chronicles,[11] of how they accused wrongly the Jews and the peasants saying: "'Ye have done this wicked thing'; and they chastised them, and afflicted their souls, so that the Jews confessed what never came into their hearts; and they burned them with fire. Then Bohemia rebelled against her king and her God, because of the wrath of the Lutherans; and in those days they drave out the Jews from the provinces of Bo-

hemia and from Prague, the capital, and they removed from thence in waggons in the month Adar three hundred and two, after the smaller date, and went into Poland and abode there. And many died on the road, and many were slain by the edge of the sword. And the Jews had dwelled in Prague from the day they were led captive from their own until that day. But the Bohemians turned to be their enemies, saying, 'They were among those that troubled us in the wars of the Turks and joined our enemies; and now let them get up out of the land, and we shall see what will become of their dreams."[12]

Compared to these sufferings, Luther's changed attitude was a minor matter. Such leaders of German Jews as Josel of Rosheim must have been clearly aware of the fact that the aged Luther was no longer the central figure of the Reformation in the way the young Luther had been twenty years earlier and that his changed attitude toward the Jews was not supported by Melanchthon or the other leaders of the Reformation.[13] And finally in the third place the Jews had to note that the whole reaction was after all little more than a stronger attempt to win them over to Christianity. And as far as that possibility was concerned, the rabbis needed to have no worry.

The attitude of the German Jews toward Christianity remained unchanged. Luther told of a Jew having complained thus bitterly: "Have not thousands of us been slain innocently, of whom nothing is said! Yet the crucified Christ is remembered till eternity. His death can not be forgotten."[14]

The men of the Reformation expected the Jews to come to Jesus, the Messiah. The Jews waited for the Messiah to come in the future and join them, the chosen people. Just at the turn of the century and at the time of the

Reformation this expectation was especially keen, forming the strongest obstacle to all attempts at mission work from the direction of the Christians.

A forerunner of the Messiah appeared in Istria about 1502 in the person of a religious visionary by the name of Asher Lämmlein who proclaimed that drastic penance and abstinence was a condition of immediately approaching salvation, the rise of the kingdom of the Messiah in Jerusalem. When the hope did not materialize according to predictions, Lämmlein explained that the penance had been too superficial.[15] The Jewish physician of the Vatican, Bonet de Lates, reckoned that the fall of Edom, i.e. Rome, was to come about in 1505.

When the forces of Charles V sacked Rome in 1527, the new prophet, Solomon Molcho proclaimed that the hour of Edom's defeat and destruction had come. When Rome was again freed from under the yoke of the Emperor, Isaac Abrabanel prophesied that the final outcome would be witnessed in 1531. The greatest attention was gained by David Reubeni[16] who arrived in Italy from the East in 1524. He declared that he represented the tribe of Reuben, which inhabited the "desert of Khabor", and which had lived in its own independent kingdom for over 2000 years. His brother Joseph was the king of "Khabor" and David the chief of its army. In 1532, together with Solomon Molcho, he came to Charles V in Regensburg, asking him for aid in carrying out his plans to recruit all the Jews of the world for conquering Palestine. The Emperor left these forerunners of the Messiah in the hands of the Inquisition. Molcho died at the stake and Reubeni in the dungeons of the Inquisition.[17] But the brighter hopes for Israel's morrow did not die. In Germany the chiliastical expectations of the Anabaptists were fortified by the

eschatological hopes of the Jews. Oswald Leber, one of their prophets, was probably influenced by Jews.[18]

The hope of salvation to come drew the minds of the Jews to some extent away from the woes of the time, through which they had to go of necessity, but which, too, lead them step by step nearer "the day of the Lord". Among these woes to be undergone belonged, also, the attempts to convert them made by the Christians, whether forcible or peaceable. But what were they, compared to that day when "Egypt shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence against the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land."[19]

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

The results of our study can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The battle waged for 18 years by Reuchlin and his humanist colleagues for the rights of the Jews penetrated the walls of superstitious fear and religious fanaticism within which the Middle Ages had shut in the Jews, aroused a lively interest in the Jews and their language and broke ground for the Reformation by indicating in action and practice that the era of Rome's invulnerability was over.

2. The most important reasons for the concern of the Reformation witht the Jews were the interest in the original language of the Old Testament, the arguments advanced by Jews against the Messiahship of Jesus, their position in the Bible's prophecies and the idea of the possible conquering of the Jews for Christianity.

3. Luther's earliest expressions of opinion on the Jews were coldly theological. Not until 1523 did he take the question under full consideration joining wholly with the liberal humanist viewpoint.

4. The mission-idea was not wholly alien to the young Luther even in the beginning in his attitude toward the Jews. He saw the mission spirit even in the struggle of the Catholic Church against the Jews but he rejected the Church's violent mediaeval methods. But he could not, however, as yet expect a mass conversion of the Jews.

5. Luther's book "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" which appeared in 1523 marked the beginning proper of evangelical Jewish missions. He was now prepared to hope

that the Gospel current which had started to move with renewed force would sweep along the Jews with it. He knew that there were obstacles to the Jews such as the dogmatic problems concerning the Trinity, the Virgin birth, the divinity of Christ and so on, in which he tried to aid them toward Biblical conceptions.

6. According to Luther's ideas, attempts to win over Jews were to be made with the help of converted Jews. In this respect he pinned great hopes on a certain baptized Jew by the name of Bernhard, though his hopes were betrayed. Equally futile were the results as far as attaching the converted Jews Johannes Böschenstein and Matthaeus Adrianus as teachers in the University of Wittenberg were concerned. Somewhat more noteworthy was the activity of Antonius Margaritha toward the converting of his former brethren in the faith.

7. The tolerant attitude of the young Luther determined, for the time being, the attitude of the men of the Reformation toward the Jews. Thus the policy of Landgrave Philip and Martin Bucer in Hesse was fairly friendly toward them. The "Judenordnung" of the Landgrave, in particular, which was the first evangelical Jewish ordinance, granted them protection and rights which they had not earlier enjoyed in Germany. Their existence in Brandenburg developed into an even freer one for here the Elector Joachim II and his court chaplain, Agricola of Eisleben, silenced the opposition of the anti-Semitic provost of Berlin, Georg Buchholzer and obtained unconditional freedom of activity for them.

8. Beginning with the year 1536, the attitude of Luther and of some of his supporters began to grow less sympathetic toward the Jews. In the above-mentioned year, John Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, banished the Jews from

his land and Luther refused to take up cudgels in their behalf. The chief reason for this change of front was probably the Jewish propaganda which had appeared in Moravia, as a result of which a few people had embraced Jewish religious customs. Luther published an open letter, "Wider die Sabbather" concerning the matter. In his Table Talks as well of this period there began to appear biting comments on the Jews.

9. The year 1543 was the most significant of this reaction. During that time Luther published three books against the Jews. The first appeared in January and was called "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" in which he mercilessly castigated their obdurate and unregenerate minds. In March there followed "Of Schem Hamphoras" the point of which was directed against Jewish superstition. Still in the same year he completed "On the Last Words of David" which was chiefly an exegetical study and in which his attitude toward the Jews was already more moderate.

10. Luther's coolness toward the Jews continued, however, up to his death, appearing in personal letters as well as in sermons. The best evidence of that is his last sermon, delivered in Eisleben, less than three days before his demise.

11. As reasons for Luther's changed atttiude there have been mentioned the anti-Semitic example furnished by the Catholic Church and possible personal unpleasant experiences with Jews. The most important reasons, however, were religious and national. To tolerate their rejection of the Gospel would be merely to fix them more firmly in their errors. Even those who had been converted to Christianity had sometimes proved religiously untrustworthy. The rabbis, with their erroneous propounding of the Bible were acting in direct opposition to Christianity.

As the Turkish danger grew from year to year Luther, too, began to lean toward the prevailing prejudice that the Jews were in league with the enemies of the realm. Their money-lending, which had been exaggerated out of all proportion to reality, also roused the ire of the always strongly nationalistic Luther.

12. There were also political consequences following upon Luther's changed attitude in the Jewish question. The Elector John Frederick of Saxony, who had already had time to partly rescind the strict Jewish laws of 1536, decreed that they be once more enforced. More stringent orders for restricting Jewish rights were also issued by Dukes Georg and Moritz and by the Landgraves Philip of Hesse and Johann von Küstrin. The consequences of the reaction did not appear in Brandenburg until after Luther's death. None of these political results became protracted ones, however.

13. This reaction of Luther in his Jewish policy which has often been depicted in literature as the prevailing stand on the Jewish question of the whole Lutheran Reformation, remained, as a matter of fact, a comparatively restricted phenomenon. Philip Melanchthon, Martin Bucer and Andreas Osiander did not accept it and Heinrich Bullinger criticised his changed attitude very severely. The general attitude of the Lutheran Reformation toward the Jews remained, despite everything, quite favorable compared to the way in which the Catholic Church continued to treat them. The uncouth language employed by Luther has misled scholars who often have forgotten that it was the general custom of the time.

14. Our study has brought out the fact especially that regardless of all his reaction Luther did not forget his earlier mission thoughts. Even in his final sermon he ex-

pressed his hopes for the conversion of the Jews. But disappointed in his expectations that the mere preaching of the Gospel would influence the Jews Luther partly submitted in thought to medieval mission methods, resorting to forceful means to which governments had to have recourse in order to convert the Jews. Whether he really thought these forceful measures were actually to be used is uncertain, however.

15. It is to be noted, moreover, that Luther's harshly-worded books of the year 1543 are also to be taken as written with a mission purpose. Indeed, the book "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" is sub-titled "A Mission Epistle". His last works were a chastisement to bring them to Christ through His righteousness, whereas his earlier presentation had been rather an exhortation through the love of Christ. His whole last literary triad was despite everything full of demonstrations with which he aimed to win over his Jewish readers to Christianity through the paths of conviction.

16. Luther was by no means alone in his Jewish mission ideas. Sebastian Münster, Professor of Hebrew and theology at Heidelberg and Basel, fulfilled his mission ideas in a practical manner by publishing a Hebrew translation with commentary of the Gospel according to St. Matthew and of the Epistle to the Hebrews as well as three additional books in Hebrew and Latin on Christianity intended for learned Jews.

17. Luther's zeal for the conversion of the Jews appeared in a practical form as well. There are evidences in his works of Jewish baptizings, which the men of the Reformation performed. He even gave practical and specific instructions concerning how these were to be carried out.

18. Proof of the generally sympathetic attitude adopted by the Lutheran Reformation toward the Jews is the friendly way in which contemporary Jews viewed the Reformation. Even the reaction which came about in Luther's Jewish attitude does not seem to have given them overmuch concern. Reasons for this were the current persecutions from the direction of the Catholic Church, the then prevailing eschatological expectations in the Jewish world, but first and foremost the conviction that despite all, the Reformation meant the dawn of a brighter day for Jews as well.

19. The conclusions of our study is, therefore, that a Protestant Jewish mission arose during the time of the Lutheran Reformation and out of its activities, and hence that it is an injustice to nascent Protestantism to characterize it as wholly devoid of concern for the presentation of the Gospel to non-Christians.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1] The greater part of the literature consulted by the author of this study is listed in the Bibliography.

[2] The author has not succeeded in consulting the following treatises: *J. A. Hausmeister*, Evangelische Mission unter Israel, 1834; *B. H. Steger*, Die evangelische Judenmission, Hof, 1847, 2nd ed., Halle, 1857; *E. W. Hengstenberg*, Die Juden und die christliche Kirche, in Die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, 1857, No. 40, pp. 51—64; *Chr. A. H. Kalkar*, Missionen iblandt Jöderne, Köbenhavn, 1866 (a German translation by *A. Michelsen*: Israel und die Kirche. Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Bekehrungen der Juden zum Christenthum in allen Jahrhunderten).

[3] For example: *Johann Albert Fabricius*, Salutaris lux evangelii toti orbi, Hamburg, 1731, pp. 585—7, 756—8; *Wilhelm Hoffmann*, Missions-Stunden I, Stuttgart, 1847, pp. 451 et seq.; *Chr. A. H. Kalkar*, Den kristelige Mission blandt Hedningerne, Köbenhavn, 1857; enlarged Danish edition, Köbenhavn, 1879, I,8 et seq., 206 et seq.; *J. Vahl*, Lapperne og den lapske Mission, Köbenhavn, 1866.

[4] For example: *Albert Ostertag*, Evangelisches Missions-Magazin, 1857, pp. 7—19.

[5] London, 1660.

[6] Luke 21:24.

[7] The prophesying of the end of the world was then in vogue. Beverly had reckoned it as coming in 1697; Justus Lipsius in 1698; Napier forecast the Last Judgment as beginning in 1697 or 1699 at latest. Mather himself had published a book "Diatriba de signo filii hominis et secundo Messiae adventu", Amsterdam, 1682.

[8] For ex.: *Samuel Bradford*, A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish Church of St. Mary le Bow; on Friday the 19th of February, 1719.

London, 1720; *David Bogue*, Objections against a mission to the heathen, stated and considered. A sermon, preached at Tottenham Court Chapel, before the Founders of the Missionary Society, 24 Sept. 1795. First American ed., Cambridge, 1811.

[9] The first American edition, New York, 1816.

[10] As an exception may be mentioned the erstwhile secretary of the American Board and later professor of the Andover Theological Seminary, *Rufus Anderson* (1796—1880), who in his book "Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims", New York, 1869, pp. 85 et seq., draws a great parallel from the old Irish missionaries who had established the Erfurt monastery to its most illustrious monk, Luther, through whom as intermediary the spirit of St. Patrick continues.

[11] *Gustav Leopold Plitt*, Kurze Geschichte der lutherischen Mission in Vorträgen, Erlangen, 1871.

[12] "Luthers Auffassung und Erfüllung der christlichen Missionspflicht."

[13] The author has not been able to consult Plitt's article: Luthers Stellung zur Judenmission. Zeitschrift für die Mission der Kirche an Israel. Erlangen, 1870. Pp. 279—295.

[14] Gütersloh, 1876.

[15] "Wie oft erinnert Luther die Gläubigen an das Elend der Heiden und Türken, wie nachdrücklich fordert er zum Gebete für sie, auch zur Aussendung von Predigern unter sie auf! Wie hat man ihn um seiner Schrift: 'Das Jesus Christ ein geborner Jude sei' (1523), in deren zweitem Theil er die Frage erörtert: 'wie mit den Juden, sie zu bekehren, zu handeln' sei, den ersten evangelischen Judenmissionar nicht mit Unrecht genannt."

[16] English translation: "Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time." Authorized transl. from the 7th German ed. edited by George Robson, New York, 1901.

[17] The author of this study has consulted the second edition, Gotha, 1897—1905, which appeared of the first parts of the work before the latter parts were finished.

[18] Outline, p. 9.

[19] Op. cit., p. 11.

[20] Outline, p. 18. Cf. Warneck's article in Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift, 1894, pp. 381 et seq.

[21] "— — — die ganze nichtchristliche Welt, sofern sie aus Juden, Mohammedanern und Heiden besteht." I, 2.

[22] Warneck refers to John 20:21: "— — — as my Father has sent me, even so send I you", and to II Cor. 5:20: "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ." Missionslehre I, 1 et seq. Cf. Outline, p. 10.

[23] Gütersloh, 1876.

[24] "Denn hier kann von einer eigentlichen Missionsarbeit kaum die Rede sein, da diese Judenchristen aus Leuten bestanden, die 'auf den Trost Israels gewartet'."

[25] Geschichte der lutherischen Mission nach den Vorträgen des † Prof. D. Plitt neu herausgegeben und bis auf die Gegenwart fortgeführt, I—II, Leipzig, 1894—5.

[26] We mention as examples: *Herman Gundert*, Die evangelische Mission, ihre Länder, Völker und Arbeiten, second ed., Calw & Stuttgart, 1886; *A. C. Thompson*, Protestant Missions. Their Rise and Early Progress, New York, 1894; *P. Barcklay*, A Survey of Foreign Missions, Edinburgh and London, 1897; *Lemuel Call Barnes*, Two thousand years of Missions before Carey, 4th ed., Chicago, 1902; *Carl Mirbt*, Die evangelische Mission, in Protestantismus am Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1900; The Encyclopedia of Missions, ed. by Dwight, Tupper and Bliss, second ed., New York and London, 1904; *Henry Ussing*, Kristinuskon voittokulku, Finnish ed. by Jaakko Gummerus, Jyväskylä, 1905; *William Owen Carver*, Missions and Modern Thought, New York, 1910; *Louise Creighton*, Missions. Their Rise and Development. New York, 1912; *Charles Henry Robinson*, The Conversion of Europe, London, 1917; ditto, History of Christian Missions, New York, 1923; *A. DeWitt Mason*, Outlines of Missionary History, New York, 1921; *Julius Richter*, Evangelische Missionskunde, Leipzig u. Erlangen, 1920; *Edward Caldwell Moore*, Spread of Christianity in the Modern World, Chicago, 1922; *Robert H. Glover*, The Progress of World-Wide Missions, New York, 1924; *Gertrud Aulen*, Kristinuskon voittokulku, Finnish ed., Helsinki, 1927.

[27] For ex. *Preston A. Laury*, A History of Lutheran Missions, second ed., Reading, Pa., 1905.

[28] Bonn und Leipzig, 1922.

[29] Op. cit., pp. 41—50.

[30] "Propaganda will immer aus dem anderen nur das machen, was man selbst bereits ist; Mission will dem anderen zu dem verhelfen, was er — der andere — seinem eigenen Wesen nach sein oder werden soll. — — — Propaganda fesselt, Mission erlöst." Op. cit., p. 24.

[31] The American ed., Vol. III, Boston, 1864, p. 360.

[32] For ex. *Otto Hauser*, Geschichte des Judentums, Weimar, 1921.

[33] Martin Luther. His Life and Work. Transl. by Frank J. Eble. St. Louis, Mo., 1930. P. 543. Cf. *Joseph Schmidlin*, Catholic Mission History, Techny, Ill., 1933.

[34] Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, I—IX, Leipzig, 1853—1902.

[35] The Story of the Jews from the earliest times to the present day, London, 1926.

[36] Op. cit., p. 211.

[37] "Es ist ein falscher Ruhm, der die 'Reformation' mit 'Judentoleranz' zu schmücken sucht." Luther und die Juden; ein Beitrag zu der Frage: "Hat die Reformation gegen Juda Toleranz geübt?" Münster i. Westf., 1893. P. 33.

[38] Rabbi Josel von Rosheim. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland in Reformationszeitalter. Strassburg, 1898. — Feilchenfeld died May 30, 1898 before this dissertation of his had had time to appear from the press.

[39] Op. cit., p. 120.

[40] Berlin, 1911.

[41] "Die Saat des Judenhasses, die er (Luther) darin ausstreut, — — — wirkt noch lange durch die Jahrhunderte fort; wer immer aus irgendwelchen Motiven gegen die Juden schreibt, glaubt das Recht zu besitzen, triumphierend auf Luther zu verweisen." Op. cit., p. 110.

[42] Transl. from the German, New York, 1935, p. 277.

[43] Cf. *James Parkes*, The Jew and his Neighbour. A Study in the Causes of Antisemitism. London, 1938, p. 108, and *Louis Golding*, The Jewish Problem, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1938, p. 92.

[44] München, 1921. An abridged leaflet made of this work appeared as: "Antisemitismus — Christenpflicht".

[45] Leipzig, 1921.

CHAPTER TWO

[1] "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother. — — — Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury." Deut. 23:19, 20.

[2] Thus John Huss: "Usura autem prior est dampnabilis, cum sit cupidi sine caritate vendentis tempus blasfeme." Opera omnia III, 258. Cf. II, 490.

[3] Cf. Ariosto's Il Negromante; the hero of this comedy is a Jewish magician.

[4] Op cit. III, 189.

[5] Cf. *Lord Melchett*, Thy Neighbour, New York, 1937, p. 91, and *A. M. Hyamson*, A History of the Jews in England, London, 1908.

[6] Cf. *Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx*, A History of the Jewish People, Philadelphia, 1927, pp. 405 et seq.; *Josef Kastein*, History and Destiny of the Jews, transl. by H. Paterson, New York, 1935, p. 284; and *K. Isidori*, Geschichte der Juden in Sachsen, Leipzig, 1840, p. 22.

[7] *Rabbi Joshua*, p. 243 as quoted by *Henry Hart Milman*, The History of the Jews, Boston, 1864, III, 222.

[8] Cf. *Isaac da Costa*, Israel and the Gentiles, New York, 1855, pp. 232 et seq.; *Margolis and Marx*, op. cit., pp. 273—276; and *Kastein*, op. cit., pp. 262 et seq.

The estimated number of those exiled from the Iberian peninsula varies greatly from 165,000 to 800,000. I. Loeb's estimate is most generally accepted that on the Iberian peninsula there were 235,000 Jews of whom 20,000 were murdered, 50,000 forcibly baptized and 165,000 fled. Of these 90,000 went to Turkey, 25,000 to Central Europe, Germany, Holland, etc., 5,000 to America and the rest to northern Africa, Italy, etc. *I. Loeb*, Le nombre des Juifs de Castile et d'Espagne au moyen Age, in Revue des Études Juives, XIV, 1887, p. 161. *Werner Sombart*, The Jews and Modern Capitalism, London, 1913, p. 356, accepts statistics given by Loeb. Cf. also *C. H. Robinson*, The Conversion of Europe, London, 1917, p. 555.

[9] The Jewish Encyclopedia VIII, 351 et seq. Realencyklopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed., XVI, 413 et seq.

[10] Cf. Encyclopaedia Judaica X, 1263 et seq. The original title of "Contra Iudaeos" is "Pulcherrimae questiones Judaicam perfidiam in Cath. fide improbantes".

[11] Cf. *G. F. Abbott*, Israel in Europe, London, 1907, p. 85.

[12] Ibid, p. 93.

[13] Decree No. 68.

[14] Num. 15: 37—39.

[15] Below, p. 53.

[16] Cf. *Margolis and Marx*, op. cit., p. 415.

[17] For ex. *A. Berliner*, Aus dem Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter, Berlin, 1900, p. 108, recounts the apostasy of a prior.

[18] Epist. I,45. Cf. XI,15.

[19] Cf. *A. M. Hyamson*, A History of the Jews in England, 2nd ed., Methuen, 1928.

[20] Gen. 17:7, 13, 19.

[21] "Non inquam ut occidantur admoneo, sed ut congruente nequitiae suae modo puniantur, exhortor." Epist. Petri Venerab. apud Bouquet, XV, p. 641, as quoted by *Milman*, op. cit. III, 191 et seq.

[22] Cf. *Abbott*, op. cit., p. 85.

[23] Cf. *Isidori*, op. cit., p. 33 et seq.; *Feilchenfeld*, op. cit., p. 54; *James Parkes*, The Jew and his Neighbour, London, 1938, p. 58.

[24] When the persecution of Jews in Germany was at its height during the Black Plague, King Boleslav of Poland threw open his country to them, granting them a liberal charter.

[25] "Quia cum ipsi Judaei sint servi Ecclesiae." Summa 22,X, 10. Aquinas is otherwise quite tolerant of the Jews, condemning, for example, the baptizing of their children against parents' wishes.

[26] For the etymology of the word Ghetto cf. The Jewish Encyclopedia V, 652.

[27] One of these moving lamentations is given in the German translation in *Berliner*, op. cit., pp. 110—112.

CHAPTER THREE

[1] Cf. ante p. 31.

[2] Erasmus himself acknowledges this in one of his letters.

[3] The Jewish Encyc. VI, 64.

[4] The Jewish Encyc. III, 570.

[5] *Heinrich Graetz*, Geschichte der Juden, Leipzig, 1853—1902, IX, 75. Cf. *Kastein*, op. cit., p. 329.

[6] According to *Graetz*, Influence of Judaism on the Protestant Reformation, transl. by Simon Tuska, Cincinnati, 1867, p. 1, he was illiterate. But it is to be observed that Graetz in his burning Jewish patriotism scarcely finds words harsh enough to characterize Pfefferkorn who is to him "a being, whose name does not deserve mention in literature and history". Cf. *Ludwig Geiger*, Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 209 et seq., and *F. G. Stokes*, Epistolae obscurorum virorum, London, 1909, Introduction, p. XXII.

[7] *Isaac da Costa*, op. cit., p. 464.

[8] Cf. the famous case of Edgar Mortara, in 1859. For instance in *Friedrich Nippold*, The Papacy in the 19th Century, transl. by L. H. Schwab, New York, 1900, p. 134.

[9] Cf. ante p. 31.

[10] Melanchthon, for instance, maintains that this was the primary cause of Pfefferkorn's attempt. Corp. Ref. 11, 1001. The same opinion is held by the author of the Epistolae obscurorum virorum. Cf. also *Geiger*, op. cit., p. 413.

[11] Cf. *Costa*, op. cit., pp. 464 et seq.

[12] *Werner Heise*, Die Juden in der Mark Brandenburg bis zum Jahre 1571, Berlin, 1932, pp. 210—227.

[13] *Graetz*, Influence of Judaism, p. 10.

[14] *Heise*, op. cit., p. 226. — Lacking other proof, Pfefferkorn's tale is untrustworthy.

[15] Melanchthon relates that Reuchlin paid Sforno a ducat for each hour.

[16] According to Reuchlin, for example, the doctrine of the Trinity was as already hidden in the second word of the Bible: BARA the letters of which were the initial letters of AB father, BEN son, and RUAH ghost.

[17] "Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae Una Cum Lexico." Pforzheim.

[18] Reuchlin writes among other things: "— — — dass man mit den Juden, die 1300 jahr in der Verbannung leben, Rücksicht haben müsse und sie mit Sanftmut und Milde bekehre, wan sye Jhesuh als den rechten Messias erkennen, so würdt all ir sach gut hie in diser welt und dort ewiglichen, amen."

Quoted by *Abraham Cohn*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Hessen-Kassel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Marburg, 1933, p. 69.

[19] Cf. *Geiger*, op. cit., pp. 206—8.

[20] "Ratschlag, ob man den Juden alle ire bücher nemmen, abthun und verbrennen soll."

[21] Cf. *Graetz*, Geschichte der Juden IX, 107 et seq., and *Costa*, op. cit., p. 464 et seq., and *Geiger*, op. cit., pp. 227—234.

[22] "Handspiegel gegen die Juden und ihre Schriften, die das christliche Regiment schmähen, als gotteslästerlich, ketzerisch und abergläubig venichtet werden müssen", Mayence, 1511.

[23] "So man sich mit den Juden einlässt, sie durch Ueberredung bekehren zu wollen, ziehen sie die Christen in ihren Irrtum und ihren Aberglauben hinein." *Graetz*, op. cit., IX, 120 et seq.

[24] *Geiger*, op. cit., p. 240 et seq.

[25] Reuchlin's Briefs. II, Nos. 19 and 20 as quoted by *Graetz*, op. cit. IX,136 et seq.

[26] *Graetz*, op. cit., IX, 140 et seq.

[27] Ibid 142 et seq. Cf. Reuchlin's letter to the papal Jewish physician Bonet de Lates in Rome. *Ludwig Geiger*, Johann Reuchlin's Briefwechsel, Tübingen, 1875, No. CLIX a.

[28] See note 27.

[29] Among other examples of his translations is that of Ex. 22:8 which he had read: "Thou shalt not suffer an evildoer to live on earth", which he explained to mean that the Jews who by profaning Christ and the Church were guilty of much evil and should not be allowed to live in any corner of the earth. *Graetz*, Influence, p. 24.

[30] Cf. *Walter Brecht*, Die Verfasser der Epistolae obscurorum virorum, Strassburg, 1904.

[31] "— — — et habuerunt nigras tunicas, et magna caputia cum liripipiis suis. Et Dii sunt testes mei, quod putavit quod sint duo Magistri nostri, et feci ipsis reverentiam deponendo birretum."

[32] Vol. I, epist. 2.

[33] Cf. *A. Horawitz*, Zur Biographie und Correspondenz Johannes Reuchlin's, Wien, 1877, pp. 138—140, 143 et seq.

[34] Cologne, 1516.

[35] There is a reproduction of the picture in The Jewish Encyc. IX,658.

[36] According to Graetz.

[37] The Leyden ed. of Erasmus' works, V, 36A.

[38] *Frederick Seebohm*, The Oxford Reformers, London, 1911, p. 169.

[39] "Epistolae clarorum virorum", ed. by Reuchlin, II, 26.

[40] The Leyden ed. of Erasmus' works, Ep. CCLXXIV. Transl. by *J. A. Froude*, Life and Letters of Erasmus, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1903, pp. 183 et seq. Used with special permission by the publishers.

[41] The Leyden ed. of Erasmus' works, Ep. CCII, second series, abridged. Transl. by *Froude*, op. cit., p. 195 et seq. Used with special permission by Charles Scribner's Sons.

[42] Ibid, Ep. CCIII. Transl. by *Froude*, op. cit., p. 196. Used with special permission by Charles Scribner's Sons.

[43] This becomes clear later on in his letter to Hochstraten in which he says, "Who is there among us who does not sufficiently hate this race of men? If it is a Christian thing to hate Jews, we are all Christians enough." The Leyden ed. of Erasmus' works III, 1, 484. Transl. by *Ephraim Emerton*, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1899, p. 329. Used with special permission by the publishers.

[44] At about this same time there appeared in Rome a pamphlet along the same line by Petrus Galatinus, a Franciscan friar.

[45] W. A. 53,413.

[46] *Geiger*, Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel, Nos. CCLXXXVIII-CCXC.

[47] Those of W. F. Capito (1516, 1518), Sebastian Münster (1520, 1524, 1535, 1542), Anonymous (1522), Henricus Uranius (1541), Theod. Bibliander (1542), Petrus Artopoeus (1543), Franciscus Stancarus (1547), David Kyberus (1552), Abdias Praetorius (1558), Benedictus Aretius (1561) and Wigand Happelius (1561).

[48] Those of Joh. Böschenstein (1518), M. Aurigallus (1525), Johann Immanuel Tremellius (1541) and Johannes Avenarius (1562).

[49] In Zürich Theod. Bibliander's (1535);
in Geneva Antonius Cavallerius' (1560);
in Marburg Augustus Sebastianus' (1530).

[50] Cf. *Geiger*, Johann Reuchlins Briefwechel, Nos. CCCI and CCCIV.

[51] Levita's Hebrew Grammar, "Sefer ha-Bahur", which appeared in 1518, was used by Christians as well.

[52] The Leyden ed. of Erasmus' works, III,353A. Transl. by *Emerton*, op. cit., p. 267. Used with special permission by the publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

[53] Böschenstein's Jewish origin is not a certain fact, however. Cf. The Jewish Encyc. III,284.

[54] As quoted by *Graetz*, Influence, p. 45.

CHAPTER FOUR

[1] W. A. Briefwechsel 1,23 et seq. Cf. Enders 1,14, and *Preserved Smith*, Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters, transl. and ed. by — — —, I, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 28 et seq.

[2] "Sunt in reprobum sensum per iram Dei traditi, ut sint incorrigibiles." — Cf. Rom. 1:28.

[3] "Hoc tandem concludo, cum per omnes prophetas praedictum sit, Iudaeos Deum et regem suum Christum maledicturos et blasphematuros, et qui hoc non legit vel intelligit, fateor eum nondum vidisse theologiam."

[4] Jacob Hochstraten had written to the Pope after the Leipzig debate about Luther's heresy. In 1519 Luther published the short "Scheda adversus Iacobum Hochstraten" in which he assaults Hochstraten outright, "Haereticorum Magistrum vulgo et vere dictum", but does not refer by as much as one word to the Jewish question. W. A. 2,386 et seq.

[5] Cf. W. A. 3,13, 19 et seq., 29, 50, 60, 82, 296, 321, 322, 368, 496, 501, 513, 517, 583, 596 et seq.; 4,6, 74 et seq., 134 et seq., 221, 275, 345, 418, 466 et seq., 486.

[6] "Das Magnificat Vorteutschet vnd auszgelegt durch D. Martinum luther. Vuittemberg". Between the years 1521—26 there appeared eight German and two Latin editions of the work.

[7] "Wer wolt Christen werden, szo er sihet Christen so unchristlich mit menschen umbgahn." W. A. 7,601.

[8] W. A. 11,305 et seq.; E. A. 29, 45 et seq.

[9] 3 in Wittenberg, 2 in Augsburg, 2 in Basel, 1 in Berlin and 1 in Strassburg. W. A. 11,308 et seq.

[10] "DE CHRISTI IESV EX IVDAEis ortu, matrisq; eius Mariae virginitate, Martini Lutheri Libellus in Latinum uersus per Ioannem Lonicerum. MDxxv."

[11] Luther's letter to Spalatin, Jan. 22, 1523. De Wette, 2, 302.

[12] "Das Maria, die mutter gottis, sey nicht iunckfraw gewesen fur und nach der gepurt."

[13] *James Mackinnon,* Luther and the Reformation, London, 1925—1930, IV, 192.

[14] Cf. ante, p. 28 et seq.

[15] Cf. Luther's statement in his Table Talk: "We find their footsteps throughout Germany. — — — The Jews inhabited Ratisbon a long time before the birth of Christ." W. A. T. R. 3,3990.

[16] W. A. T. R. 4,4512.

[17] W. A. T. R. 5,5324. Cardinal Ximenes submitted the Hebrew text of his Polyglot Bible to three rabbis for checking.

[18] W. A. 54,100.

[19] W. A. 53,647.

[20] W. A. 54,100. Cf. W. A. T. R. 3,619.

[21] "Oratio de studiis linguae ebraicae" (1546). Corp. Ref. XI,708—715.

[22] "Doctoribus ignoti sunt fontes." "De lingua hebr. discenda" (1560). Corp. Ref. XII,385—392.

[23] Luther adds: "— — — and he was nothing particular" (!).

[24] W. A. T. R. 1,953. Cf. 2,1684 and 4,5089.

[25] W. A. 11,315; 54,93.

[26] Jer. 15:19; Ps. 81:10.

[27] W. A. 53,587.

[28] Inst. II, chap. XI,11. Cf. chap. VI,4, and *Calvin,* Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans, ed. by Beveridge, p. 248 et seq.: "— — — the excellency of the people of the Jews."

[29] "Derwegen darin die Juden uns umb der Väter willen zu lieben sind vor andern Ungläubigen, ob sie wol nach dem Evan-

gelio Feind seien." *M. Lenz*, Briefwechsel, Landgraf Philipp's des Grossmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer I—III, Leipzig, 1880—1891, I, 58.

[30] For ex. *Calvin*, Inst. III, chap. III, 22. With Luther in countless places.

[31] W. A. 42,655.

[32] W. A. 43,54.

[33] W. A. 42,602.

[34] "Praevenire igitur voluit Moses rabiosam Iudaeorum superbiam, qui ex hoc textu (Gen. 17) contendunt totum mundum esse circumcidendum." W. A. 42,606.

[35] "Vos Christiani estis gentes, et non semen Abrahae: Ergo frustra gloriamini vos esse Ecclesiam." W. A. 43,153.

[36] W. A. 42,574 et seq.

[37] *Ernst Staehelin*, Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads. In Quellen u. Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, Bd. X, 432.

[38] "Sollen von irem glauben nicht disputiren." *Lenz*, op. cit., I,56.

[39] "Und wenn wyr gleych hoch uns rhumen, so sind wyr dennoch heyden und die Juden von dem geblutt Christi, wyr sind schweger und frembdling, sie sind blut freund, vettern und bruder unsers hern." W. A. 11,315.

[40] "Denn unsere narren die Bepste, Bischoff, Sophisten und Munche, die groben esels kopffe, haben bis her also mit den Juden gefaren, das, wer eyn gutter Christ were gewessen, hette wol mocht eyn Jude werden. Und wenn ich eyn Jude gewesen were und hette solche tolpell und knebel gesehen den Christen glauben regirn und leren, so were ich ehe eyn saw worden denn eyn Christen. Denn sie haben mit den Juden gehandelt als weren es hunde und nicht menschen, haben nichts mehr kund thun denn sie schelten und yhr gutt nehmen, wenn man sie getaufft hat, keyn Christlich lere noch leben hat man yhn beweyset, sondern nur der Bebsterey unnd muncherey untherworffen." W. A. 11, 314 et seq.

[41] W. A. T. R. 5, 6196. Cf. The Table Talk of Martin Luther, transl. by *William Hazlitt*, London, 1884, No. 852.

[42] *Richard Ebermann,* Die Türkenfurcht. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der öffentlichen Meinung in Deutschland während der Reformationszeit. Halle a. S., 1904. P. 49.

[43] W. A. 8, 561. E. A. 28, 139 et seq.

[44] Rom. 9:27; 11:5. Cf. *Luther,* Ein Sermon von den Jüdischen Reichs und der Welt ende. Matth. 24. Wittenberg, 1525.

[45] For ex. in his speech on the "Sceptre of Judah", Corp. Ref. X,792—794.

[46] Col. 3:11.

[47] Inst. II, chap. XI,11.

CHAPTER FIVE

[1] "Drumb solten wir die Juden nit so unfruntlich handeln, denn es sind noch Christen unter yhn zukunfftig und teglig werden." W. A. 7,600.

[2] *Abraham Cohn,* op. cit., p. 5, cf. p. 64.

[3] *Hastings Eells,* Martin Bucer, New Haven, 1931, p. 240.

[4] "Ratschlag ob christlicher Oberkait gebüren müge, das sye, die Juden vndter den Christen zu wonen gedulden, und wa sye zu gedulden, wölcher gestalt vnd mass."

[5] "Thalmutische gottlose Gedichten."

[6] *Lenz,* op. cit. I,56.

[7] 1506—1521.

[8] Pp. 17 et seq.

[9] *Lenz,* op. cit. I,58.

[10] "Aber warlich bei recht gotseligem regiment müssen allemal die hausgenossen des glaubens ein vorteil und die verechter des glaubens ein nachtheil haben." *Lenz,* op. cit. I,59 et seq.

[11] "Von den judē/ Ob, vñ wie die vnder/ den Christe zu halten sind, ein Rath/ schlag, durch die gelertē am ende dis/ büchlins verzeichnet/ zugericht./ Item/ Ein weitere erklerung/ vndbeschirmung des selbigen Rathschlags./ Durch Martin Bucer./ Isaie. 1xv. Capit./ Ich werd gesucht von denē, die mit nach/ mir fragtē, Ich werd fundē von denen/ die mich nit suchten, vnd zū den heiden,/ die meinen namen nicht anruffen, sage/ ich, Hie bin ich, Hie bin ich." — A new edition appeared in Strassburg in 1562. *Johann Wilhelm Baum,* Capito und Butzer. Strassburg Reformatoren. Elberfeld, 1860. P. 600. *Lenz.* op. cit. I,55—60, 178, 185.

[12] Cf. *Eells*, op. cit., p. 241.

[13] Cf. *Heinrich Frick*, Die evangelische Mission, Bonn und Leipzig, 1922, pp. 41—50.

[14] Cf. ante p. 51. The university founded by him in Frankfurt in 1506 was a Catholic stronghold.

[15] *F. Voigt*, Geschichte des brandenburgisch-preussischen Staates I, Berlin, 1869, p. 209.

[16] *W. Heise*, op. cit., p. 232 et seq.

[17] Rabbi Josel in his "Trostschrift an seine brüder wider Buceri büchlin". *Feilchenfeld*, op. cit., p. 181.

Melanchthon had visited at the court of Berlin in 1535, a few months before the death of Joachim I, and again in 1538 to confer with Joachim II concerning the church reform which was under discussion then. *Nikolaus Müller*, Die Besuche Philipp Melanchthons am kurfürstlich brandenburgischen Hofe 1535 und 1538. Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte 1906. P. 10 et seq. At these conferences the Jewish question was probably among those "res adiaphores" which are mentioned as having been discussed.

[18] Cf. *Hermann Traut*, Kurfürst Joachim II. von Brandenburg und der Türkenfeldzug vom Jahre 1542. Gummersbach, 1892.

[19] Concerning Joachim's debts to Michael and his widow consult *Heise*, op. cit., pp. 238—245. *Voigt*, op. cit., p. 224, relates that Joachim elevated a certain Jew named Lippold to the position of "Münzmeister" and that Lippold came to be hated by his own race as well as by Christians. Perhaps Lippold and Michael are the same person.

[20] *Gustav Kawerau*, Johann Agricola von Eisleben, Berlin, 1881, p. 227.

[21] H. Besold wrote in one of his letters: "M. Agricola publice in Marchia pro concione defendit iudaeos, corruptus eorum muneribus et largitionibus." *Kawerau*, op. cit., p. 227. Kawerau refers to Corp. Ref. IV,761, where, however, this letter is not to be found. *Heise*, op. cit., p. 236, has taken the quotation from Kawerau.

[22] "— — — wider die Juden gepredigt und hart darüber gefochten."

[23] W. A. 54,17. (*Gustav Kawerau*, Ein Brief Luthers an den Propst von Berlin Georg Buchholzer. Schrift. d. Ver. f. d. Gesch. Berlins. Heft 50. Berlin, 1917. P. 430 et seq. The writer has not been able to consult this study.)

[24] Corp. Ref. V,697, 704.

[25] W. A. 54,17. Cf. *Gustav Kawerau*, Joachim II. Verhältnis zu Luther. Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte, Berlin, 1911. P. 258 et seq.

[26] "Als eine reiner nordische Gruppe traten die Protestanten den Juden mit der alten Unbefangenheit gegenüber, ehrten sie als das Volk der Bibel, nahmen die von anderen Vertriebenen in ihre Länder auf und gaben ihnen da zumeist die völlige Freiheit auf allen Gebieten, die sie unter den Arianern gehabt hatten." *Otto Hauser*, op. cit., p. 314.

CHAPTER SIX

[1] Cf. *Otto Hauser*, Geschichte des Judentums, Weimar, 1921, p. 317. Enders 1,15 et seq.

[2] W. A. 5,449, 534, 600.

[3] Rom. 11:5. W. A. 3,329. Cf. W. A. 5,427 et seq., and 7,226.

[4] "Verum cum iam oriatur et fulgeat lux aurea evangelii, spes est, fore, ut multi Iudaeorum serio et fideliter convertantur et sic rapiantur ex animo ad Christum." W. A. Briefwechsel 3, 102.

[5] A thought written by Increase Mather, President of Harvard College in 1695, that a general conversion of the "Israelitish Nation" was expected by the "cief (sic!) Reformers in this and the last Century" was sheer exaggeration. *Increase Mather*, A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation, London, 1709.

[6] Matt. 5:17.

[7] *John Knox*, The History of the Reformation in Scotland. I. Ed. by David Laing. Edinburgh, 1846. P. 159. Cf. *Mackinnon*, op. cit. IV, 195. The conversation in question took place on Wishart's trip to Germany. He recounted it in a hearing before he was burned at the stake on March 2, 1546 at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton.

[8] *Graetz*, Geschichte der Juden IX,110.

[9] Ante, p. 77. In this connection it is fitting to observe that Ramon Lull's eloquence had induced the Council of Vienne to decide in 1311 that with an eye to missionary purposes, Hebrew, Greek, Chaldean and Arabic were to be taught in Avignon, Paris, Bologna, Salamanca and Oxford. The decision had remained a beautiful hope only.

[10] Below, p. 94 et seq.

[11] W. A. 11, 315. Cf. 11, 336.

[12] Luther uses "verzaget".

[13] W. A. T. R. 5, 6194.

[14] His evangelical sermons appeared as early as 1518.

[15] "— — — ob ich villeicht auch der Juden ettliche mocht tzum Christen glauben reytzen." W. A. 11,314.

[16] Quem velim tuo exemplo et opere et apud alios Iudaeos vulgari, ut, qui praeordinati sunt, vocentur et veniant ad David regem suum." W. A. Briefwechsel 3,102. De Wette 2,450. The letter written originally in German is undated and has been preserved in the Latin translation of Justus Jonas in the Latin version of the work of Luther in question.

[17] W. A. Briefwechsel 3,102—104.

[18] "Der gantz Jüdisch glaub mit sampt eyner gründlichē vnd warhafftigen anzeygunge, aller satzungen, Ceremonien, gebeten, heimliche vñ öffentliche gebreuch, deren sich die Juden haltē, durch das gantz Jar, mitt schönen vnd gegründten argumēten wider yhren glaubē, durch Anthonium Margaritham, Hebreyschen leser, der löblichen Vniuersitet vnd Fürstlichem statt Leyptzigk, beschrieben vnd an tagk gegeben."

[19] The long title of the book read: "Anthonius Margaritha, der Hebrayschen zungen bey der loblichen Universitet zu Wienn in Osterreych etc dissmal Ordinari Lector, erklerung, wie aus dem heylligen 53. Capittel des fürnemigisten Propheten Esaie grüntlich ausgefüert probiert, dass der verhaischen Moschiasch (wellicher Christus ist,) schon khomen, die Juden auff khainen anndern mer wartten sollen, zu trost allen frummen Christen, und wider die halsstärrigen Juden verstanden werden solle, mit sambt einer verteutschung etlicher jrer aignen auslegungen und commenten, auch ein khurtze vergleichung bayder Testament. Wienn 1534."

[20] *Joseph von Aschbach*, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, Wien, 1865—1888, III,48, 237 et seq.

[21] W. A. T. R. 5,6195.

[22] "Nam hoc nomen Hiesu non possunt non blasphemare." W. A. T. R. 4,517.

[23] W. A. 11,331.

[24] "Aber disse liebliche rede sind den Juden noch tzu hoch und tzu schweer." W. A. 11,328.

[25] W. A. T. R. 4,4795.

[26] Cf. *Mather*, op. cit., p. 5.

[27] Cf. Margaritha's book's title, note 19.

[28] W. A. 11,336.

[29] W. A. 11,318—327, 331—335.

[30] W. A. 11,331.

[31] W. A. 11,330.

[32] Jer. 23:6.

[33] Table Talk 860. Hazlitt's ed.

[34] Rom. 10:4.

[35] Inst. Book II, chap. VI,4.

CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] W. A. 54,16. *Theodor Kolde*, Martin Luther II, Gotha, 1893, p. 531 et seq., and 610 says "im Frühjahr 1537". Cf. *Georg Liebe*, Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Leipzig, 1903, p. 39. Perhaps the decree of 1536 did not go into effect until the next year?

[2] "Meine Nachforschungen im Weim. Archiv nach der Ursache der sächsischen Judenaustreibung im Jahre 1537 sind vergeblich gewesen," says *Kolde*, op. cit., p. 610.

[3] Rom. 11:17.

[4] E. A. 55,187. Cf. W. A. 50,309 according to which the letter was written June 11, 1537. W. A.'s source is De Wette 5,79. Cf. also *Feilchenfeld*, op. cit., p. 121 et seq.

[5] "Nam in Moravia multos Christianos circumciderunt et appellant eos novo nomine Die Sabbather." W. A. 50,309. Cf. W. A. T. R. 3,441 et seq., W. A. 50,312 and 42,520.

[6] "EPISTOLA D. MART. LVTHER. CONTRA SABBATARIOS, AVCTA iam ab ipso, & e Germanico Latine reddita per

IVSTVM IONAM. Addita est Epistola Iusti Ionae, de amplissimo beneficio Dei, erga populum Iudaicum. VVITTEMBERGAE. 1539."

[7] "— — — welche von diesem bösen volck allzeit erwürget und verfolgt sind." W. A. 50,335.

[8] "Iudaei, impia et superba gens." W. A. 42,615.

[9] "In Austria et Moravia audio hodie quosdam iudaizantes urgere et Sabbatum et circumcisionem, hi si verbo Dei non praemunitos invaderent, certe magnum darent malum." W. A. 42,603.

[10] W. A. T. R. 5,5567.

[11] Table Talk, Hazlitt's ed., No. 700.

[12] "Maxime! Ich wolt einem ein maulschell geben! Si possem, prosternerem et gladio (in ira mea) transfoderem." W. A. T. R. 5,257.

[13] "Der Teuffel kan viel thun." W. A. T. R. 5,5576. Cf. also W. A. T. R. 4,4485.

[14] W. A. 50,280, 337. E. A. 55,187.

[15] W. A. T. R. 4,517. W. A. 53,417.

[16] Cf. ante p. 31 et seq., p. 93.

[17] Enders 15,47.

[18] "DE IVDAEIS ET EORUM MENDACIIS. D. M. LVTHERI E GERMANICO LAtine redditum per Iustum IONAM, P. V. Ecclesiae Hallensis. DEDICATORIA EPISTOLA ad illustriss. Principem D. D. Mauritium Ducem Saxoniae."

[19] W. A. 53,417.

[20] W. A. 53,433.

[21] W. A. 53,530.

[22] W. A. 53,530.

[23] Matt. 12:34.

[24] Ps. 51:5. W. A. 53,419—427.

[25] W. A. 53,529.

[26] Luther refers among others to Deut. 13.

[27] W. A. 53,523—526. Cf. 53,536 et seq.

[28] Corp. Ref. V,76 et seq.

[29] Porchetus wrote: "Sem hamme foras, id est: nomen dei expositum." Shem ha-mphorash, "explained name", was a term in rabbinical theology.

[30] W. A. 53,580—6.

[31] W. A. 53,601.

[32] W. A. 53,609. Cf. W. A. T. R. 3,2863b.

[33] W. A. 54,28 et seq.

[34] "DE NOVISSIMIS VERBIS DAVIDIS COMMENTATIO PIA ET SACRA." Cruciger's translation was finished on Nov. 15, 1548. He died the following day.

[35] W. A. 50,317, 322; 53,462.

[36] P. 106.

[37] The Letters of Martin Luther. Selected and translated by *Margaret A. Currie.* London, 1908. No. 496.

[38] W. A. 53,195.

[39] "Jüdenfeindt oder von den edlen Früchten der Talmüdischen Jüden, so itziger Zeit in Deutschland wohnen, eine ernste wohlgegründte Schrift, darin kürtzlich ausgezeigt wird, dass sie die grösten Lästerer und Verächter unsers Herren Jesu Christi, dazu abgesagte und unversühnliche Feinde der Christen sind, von Georgius Nigrinus." Giessen, 1570. A new edition of the book has appeared in Cassel in 1883. *Hauser,* op. cit., p. 318, contains excerpts from Nigrinus's book.

[40] *Cohn,* op. cit., p. 65 et seq.

[41] *Heise,* op. cit., p. 231.

[42] *Graetz,* op. cit. IX,246 et seq.

[43] *Milman,* op. cit. III,358.

[44] *Joseph Schmidlin,* Catholic Mission History. A translation. Techny, Illinois, 1933. P. 268. *Ludwig von Pastor,* The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. London, 1891—1938. XVII,341.

[45] Cf. ante, p. 102.

[46] Enders, Briefwechsel 5,105, 124.

[47] Ibid 10,186, 198 et seq., 208.

[48] Ibid 1,278, 347; 2,10; 3,87.

[49] Cf. *Abbot,* op. cit., p. 219.

[50] For ex. W. A. 50.335. Cf. E. A. 32.227.

[51] W. A. 47,466. W. A. T. R. 6,7038.

[52] *Hauser,* op. cit., p. 317.

[53] "Solch haben sie mir selbs geantwort, da ich auch ein mal mit jnen disputirt und die Schrift wider sie füret." W. A. 50,313.

[54] Ante, p. 99.

[55] Cf. Huss's opinions of such a happening, Letters of John Huss, written during his exile and imprisonment, with Martin Luther's preface, ed. by Emile de Bonnechose, Edinburgh, 1846, p. 84.

[56] W. A. 53,491. E. A. 32,221—227.

[57] Gen. 12:3. Luther translated: "In deinem Samen sollen alle Goym (Heiden) auf erden gesegnet werden." W. A. 54,75.

[58] E. A. 55,187.

[59] W. A. 53,433.

[60] "Der Heiligen schrift diebe, reuber und verkerer." W. A. 54,93. Cf. W. A. T. R. 2,2780; 4,3988.

[61] Quellen u. Forsch. zur Ref. Gesch. XIII,163, 164, 297.

[62] W. A. 53,514—522. Cf. W. A. T. R. 5,5462, 5567.

[63] "— — — Ire eigene Rabinj — — — lestern — — — vnsern herrn Christum teglich mit vnseglichen schmeheworten." *Cohn*, op. cit., note on p. 70.

[64] Cf. W. A. T. R. 1,356, 385.

[65] W. A. 53,528. Luther's last sermon in Eisleben Feb. 15, 1546: "Darumb bitte ich, wollet euch frembder sünde nicht teilhafftig machen."

[66] I Tim. 5:22.

[67] Cf. *Richard Ehrenberg*, Das Zeitalter der Fugger. Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert. I—II. Jena, 1896. I,44.

[68] Cf. *Liebe*, op. cit., pp. 39—41.

[69] Deut. 23:19. Cf. Ex. 22:25; Lev. 25:36 et seq. and Neh. 5:7.

[70] Ps. 15:1, 5. Cf. Ez. 18:8.

[71] Cf. *R. H. Tawney*, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, New York, 1926.

[72] Cf. W. A. 51,360.

[73] Cf. *Ehrenberg*, op. cit., I,44.

[74] Deut. 23:20.

[75] Cf. *H. M. Robertson*, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 136—160. *J. Broderick, S. J.*, The Economic Morals of the Jesuits, An Answer to Dr. H. M. Robertson, London, 1934, pp. 120—153.

[76] Cf. W. A. 51,423.

[77] W. A. 51,332.

[78] Economic Tracts No. IV. Usury Laws. New York, 1881. Pp. 32—36. Cf. *Max Weber*, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, 1930, p. 157.

[79] Calvin's emancipating judgment in the question of interest was to be one of the basic factors in the mighty economic rise of the Reformed world. Before Calvin Protestants accepted interest with a bad conscience, but after Calvin with a pure conscience. (*Harkness* in her Life of Calvin.)

[80] Cf. *J. S. Schapiro*, Social Reform and the Reformation, New York, 1909, p. 22.

[81] *Hauser*, op. cit., p. 316.

[82] Ante, p. 107.

[83] *Liebe*, op. cit., p. 41.

[84] "Item das man yhn verbeutt, untter uns tzu erbeytten, hantieren und andere menschliche gemeynschafft tzu haben, da mit man sie tzu wuchern treybt, wie sollt sie das bessern?" W. A. 11,336.

[85] "Merito expelluntur illi nebulones propter impaenitentiam et usuram." W. A. 50,309. W. A. T. R. 3,3512.

[86] W. A. T. R. 3,369 et seq.

[87] "Immo docent suos usuram; das thun wir nicht, ja, wir predigen dawider vnd seint dem wucher feindt von hertzen." W. A. T. R. 5,257. Cf. 6,7038.

[88] W. A. 53,482 et seq.

[89] "Aber wenn ich ein Herr im Lande wäre, so wollt ich ihnen den Wucher auch verbieten." W. A. T. R. 6,7038. — W. A. 53,523—526. Cf. 53,536.

[90] Ante, p. 79.

[91] *Lenz*, op. cit., I,55—59.

[92] Of this 48-leaf book three editions appeared in Wittenberg in 1540 and one in Nurenberg. A Latin translation appeared in Frankfurt in 1554.

[93] W. A. 51,399.

[94] W. A. 51,414.

[95] He says once, however, about taking of exorbitant interest that it was "rechter Jüdischer teglicher Wucher". W. A. 51,364.

[96] Cf. W. A. T. R. 5,5576, where Luther agrees that there were in Leipzig greater usurers than the Jews.

[97] *Parkes*, op. cit., p. 76.

[98] For ex. Michael in Brandenburg, ante, p. 83, and a Jew named Joseph in Frankfurt, *Ehrenberg*, op. cit., I,242.

[99] Cf. *Weber*, op. cit., p. 271, and *Sombart*, op. cit., p. 6.

[100] For ex. W. A. 51,380.

[101] Judges 15:4 et seq. W. A. 53,448.

[102] W. A. 54,73.

[103] Cf. W. A. T. R. 5,6195.

[104] W. A. T. R. 5,6158. Cf. Table Talk, Hazlitt's ed. No. 879.

[105] The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir II, 337 et seq.

[106] *Pastor*, op. cit. XVII, 338.

[107] For ex. in 1567 quite a large group of Jews moved from Rome into Tiberias which the Sultan had granted them. *Pastor*, op. cit. XVII,338.

[108] Cf. *Albert Howe Lybyer*, The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent. Harvard hist. studies, vol. XVIII, Cambridge, Mass., 1913. Pp. 34, 151, 241.

[109] Foster's letter to Schrad of June 3, 1543: "Efficit tamen (Luther) prioribus duobus (his books against the Jews), ut princeps Sylesiae — — — Iudaeos finibus suis propulsarit." *Heise*, op. cit., p. 237. Cf. *Kolde*, op. cit. II,534.

[110] W. A. 54,16. Cf. *Liebe*, op. cit., p. 39.

[111] *Isidori*, op. cit., p. 48.

[112] *Graetz*, op. cit. IX,329.

[113] Cf. ante, p. 115. Melchior wrote: "Da befliss ich mich die ganze Zeit maines Dienstes, die Juden aus der Herrschaft zu bringen."

[114] *Theodor Fritsch*, Handbuch der Judenfrage. Die wichtigsten Tatsachen zur Beurteilung des jüdischen Volkes. 38th ed., Leipzig, 1935, might be mentioned as an example. This 600-page work, dictated by fanatical hate of the Jews, contains on pp. 433—438 a selection of Luther's statements put forward in such a way that Luther, together with the Jews, is made to deny Moses, the Messiah, etc.

[115] "Schweiniges, kotiges Schemhamphoras, welches, so es geschrieben wäre von einem Schweinhirten, nicht von einem berühmten Seelhirten, etwas, doch auch wenig Entschuldigung hätte." W. A. 53,574. Cf. *Hauser*, op. cit., p. 318. — *Kastein*, op. cit., p. 330, states, misleadingly, that Bullinger's statement

would have concerned the book "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies".

[116] W. A. 54,20.

[117] "Nec vidit Lutherus Epistolae tuae exemplum ad Eliam scriptae, nec Eliae literas legit, nec fabulae ad eum ullae permanarunt de tota re." Corp. Ref. V,728 et seq. W. A. 53,574.

[118] "— — — damit E. F. G. sehen, was jetzund seine Arbeit ist." W. A. 53,574.

It would be most interesting to get Calvin's opinion concerning Luther's three books directed against the Jews. Blaurerus sent him Luther's work "Concerning the Jews and Their Lies", inquiring for his stand in the matter. Calvin, Epistolae, No. 3371. But Calvin's reply has not been preserved.

[119] Corp. Ref. VII,581 et seq.

[120] *Martin Lowenthal,* The Jews of Germany. A Story of Sixteen Centuries. New York and Toronto, 1936, p. 162.

[121] *Robinson,* op. cit., p. 544. Robinson does not mention the source.

[122] *Schmidlin,* op. cit., p. 268.

[123] *Robinson,* op. cit., p. 564. The source is not given.

[124] W. A. 5,653.

[125] W. A. 7,601.

CHAPTER EIGHT

[1] "Denn mein Herz je gewesen ist und noch ist, dass man die Jüden sollt freundlich halten, der meinung, ob sie Gott dermaleins wollt gnädiglich ansehen und zu ihrem Messia bringen." W. A. 50,309. Cf. W. A. T. R. 4,5026 and 5,5567.

[2] "Nu wollen wir Christlich mit jnen handeln und bieten jnen erstlich den Christlichen glauben an, das sie den Messiam wollen annemen, der doch jr Vetter ist und von jrem fleisch und blut geboren und rechter Abrahams same, des sie sich rhümen. Wie wol ich sorge trage, das Jüdische blut sey nu mehr wesserig und wild worden, Das solt jr jnen erstlich anbieten, das sie sich zu dem Messia bekeren wollen und sich teuffen lassen, das man sehe, das es jnen ein ernst sey, Wo nicht, so wollen wir sie nicht leiden, Denn Christus gebeut uns, das wir uns sollen teuffen lassen und an jn gleuben." — "Wo sie sich aber bekeren, jren Wucher lassen und Christum annemen, so wollen

wir sie gerne, als unser Brüder halten. — — — Noch wollen wir die Christliche liebe an jnen uben und vor sie bitten, das sie sich bekeren, den HErrn annemen." W. A. 53, 195.

[3] W. A. 53,528.

[4] W. A. 53,522—526. Cf. 53,536 et seq.

[5] Ante, p. 79 et seq.

[6] *Frick*, op. cit., p. 42.

[7] "Denn aus solchem halten zu verhoffen were, das man ihrer etliche zu ihrem heil gewinnen möchte." *Lenz*, op. cit. I, 57.

[8] "— — — dass die Juden samt ihren Weibern und Kindern, so über acht Jahre alt seien, in alle Predigten gehen und das Wort Gottes fleissig hören sollen, und sollen Pfarrer, Helfer und Opfermann gewisse Achtung darauf geben, und sooft die Juden, ihre Weiber und Kinder die Predigt versäumen, dasselbe aufzeichnen und den Amtleuten anzeigen." As Quoted by *Frick*, op. cit., p. 46.

[9] In Rome such decrees as this were re-issued as late as the times of Pius VII (1800—1823) and Leo XII (1823—1829). For example, during the reign of Pius VII it was required that 300 Jews should come each Saturday from the Roman Ghetto to listen to a Christian sermon. *Nippold*, op. cit., pp. 68, 78.

[10] Davon ich, so mir Gott Raum und Zeit gibt, will ein Büchlein schreiben, ob ich etliche künnte aus euren väterlichen Stammen der heiligen Patriarchen und Propheten gewinnen und zu eurem verheissenen Messia bringen." E. A. 55,187. W. A. 50,280.

[11] De Wette 5,79, as quoted by W. A. 50,309 et seq.

[12] W. A. 50,310.

[13] "— — — die sache ist viel zu gros, das sie solt jnn einen Sendebrieff gefasset werden." W. A. 50,337.

[14] Luke 14:23.

[15] W. A. 53,449.

[16] "Christus, unser lieber HErr, bekere sie barmhertziglich und erhalte uns in seiner erkenntnis, welche das evige Leben ist, fest und unbeweglich. Amen." W. A. 53,552.

[17] "Welche sich bekeren wollen, Da gebe Gott seine gnade zu, das sie (doch etliche) mit uns erkennen und loben Gott den Vater, unsern Schepffer, sampt unserm HErrn Jhesu Christo und dem heiligen Geist, jnn ewigkeit. Amen." W. A. 53,648.

[18] John 5:23.
[19] W. A. 53,433.
[20] W. A. 50,324—326.
[21] "Cum venerit sanctussanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra."
[22] W. A. 50,323.
[23] Matt. 5:17.
[24] Jer. 31:31. W. A. 50,330.
[25] Ps. 32:1.
[26] W. A. 53, 439—446.
[27] W. A. 50,333. Cf. *Hus*, Opera omnia II,490.
[28] Genesis 17.
[29] Thus had the Jews answered already to Justin Martyr and Tertullian.
[30] W. A. T. R. 3,3731.
[31] Deut. 10:16; Jer. 4:4; 6:10.
[32] W. A. 53, 427—439.
[33] W. A. 53,434.
[34] "— — — gar ein new fündlin."
[35] W. A. 50, 327—329.
[36] Matt. 23:37f.
[37] Acts 3:13—15; 7:51, 52. Didache 8:1.
[38] For ex. *Justin Martyr*, Dialogue with Trypho 16.
[39] Ps. 89:4.
[40] Exodus 32. Cf. W. A. T. R. 5,6190—6194.
[41] "Sage doch, wers kan: Was ist die Sünde, lieber Jüde, sage doch, Wie heisst die Sünde, umb welcher willen Gott so lange uber euch zürnet und seinen Messiam nicht sendet."
[42] W. A. 50,313—322; 53,418—472.
[43] W. A. 54,30.
[44] Münster stated to Luther in August, 1540, that he had come to the conclusion that Matthew had written his gospel in Hebrew. W. A. T. R. 4,5129.
[45] *Victor Hantzsch*, Sebastian Münster. Leben, Werk, Wissenschaftliche Bedeutung. Leipzig, 1898. Pp. 133 and 177.
[46] "Haec est fides christianorum sancta, recta & perfecta atque indubitata, interprete Sebastiano Munstero."
[47] "Faciamus hominem in imagine nostra."
[48] "Haec est fides nostra uera & recta, in qua sola saluamur, & qui non crediderit eam absque dubio in aeternu peribit, et

effusio sanguinis Christi atque salus eius non proderit illi apud dominum."

[49] The author of this study has consulted the edition of 1557.

[50] "Evangelivm secvndvm Matthaevm in lingva hebraica, cvm versione latina, atqve annotatiojibvs Seb. Mvnsteri (5 lines of Hebrew) Vna cum Epistola D. Pauli ad Hebraeos, Hebraice & Latine. Cum gratia et priuilegio Caesareae maiestatis. — — — Basileae, per Henrichvm Petri, Anno M. D. LVII. Mense Avgvsto."

[51] The author has not succeeded in consulting this work.

[52] "The Messias of the Christians, and the Jews; Held forth in a Discourse, between a Christian, and a Jew obstinately adhering to his strange opinions, & the forced interpretations of Scripture, Wherein, Christ the true Savior of the whole world is described from the Prophets, and likewise that false and counterfeited Messias of the Jewes, who in vaine is expected by that Nation to this very day, is discovered. Written first in Hebrew but now rendered into English by Paul Isaiah, a Jew born, but now converted and baptized Christian. London, 1655." Münster's name is not mentioned until the translator does so in his introduction.

[53] Dan. 1:15.

[54] Table Talk, Hazlitt's ed., No. 861. W. A. T. R. ?

[55] W. A. Briefwechsel 3,102.

[56] Sept. 25, 1538. W. A. 47,466.

[57] W. A. 47,467. Cf. W. A. T. R. 3,3479.

[58] "Underricht und verhör, Egidi Meche/lers und Magistri Sigismundi Kirchners/ eines jüdischen katechumenici, welcher sich zum/ christenthumb begeben, und getauft ist, worden in Erfurd, im jar/ 1539, sontag Letare." *Emil Sehling*, Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. I—V. Leipzig, 1902—1913. I,2, p. 365.

[59] "Ordenung der/ heiligen taufe des/ catechumenici/ aus der jüden/schaft, gehalten in der predi-/ger kirche zu Erfurd durch/ Egidium Mecheler als den/ teufer, im jar 1539/ sonntag Letare." *Sehling*, op. cit., p. 365, does not give the text of the form. Cf. *Kawerau's* article in Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben, 10,598 et seq.

[60] W. A. T. R. 5, Einleitung, p. XXXVI.

[61] Joel 2:32.

[62] "Von den Juden zu tauffen. Erstlich das man in ein namen gebe oder selber erwelen lasse. Zum andern, kanstu auch die zehen gebott? Zum dritten, glaubstu auch, das du ein sunder bist, in sunden geborn, vnd bedarffst des heilandts, Messiae, der dich von sunden, dem todt vnd des Teuffels gewalt erlose? Zum vierten, glaubstu auch, das vnser Her Christus Jesus sei der selbige Messias, im gsetz vnd propheten verheissen, aus dem samen Abrahae vnd aus dem geschlecht Dauids von der reynen jungfrauwen Maria geporen, warhafftiger mensch vnd Gott, vom Vatter da zu vns geben, das er fur vnser sundt leiden vnd sterben solt vnd wider von den todten aufferstehen, das er vns von den sunden erlosen, gerecht vnd lebendig macht in ewigkeit durch den Heiligen Geist, den er vns on vnser werck vnd on verdienst erworben vnd gegeben hatt? Hie lass man in den glauben sagen. Zum funfften, weil nu solcher glaub einen Gott bittet vnd anruffet wie kinder einen vatter, wie Joel spricht: Alle, die den namen des Herren anruffen, sollen selig werden, so sag her das Vatter vnser. Conclusio in adhortatione: So soltu nu forthin nicht mer zweifflen, deine sund werden dir vergeben sein, vnd du wirst Gottes kindt geheissen vnd sein durch Christum Jesum, den einigen Son Gottes, an den du itzundt bist glaubig worden. Die gnadt Gottes sei mit dir. — Dicat baptizatus: Amen." W. A. T. R. 5,5843.

[63] W. A. T. R. 1,299. Cf. 1,1060. — Luther once expressed his unguarded thoughts of a Jew seeking baptism in a guileful spirit: "I would take him on to the bridge, tie a stone round his neck, and hurl him into the river; for these wretches are wont to make a jest of our religion." W. A. T. R. 2,1795, 2634.

Modern Protestant thought is more evangelical: even for business reasons a Jew seeking baptism should be baptized, for baptism joins him to those circles where cure of souls is practiced and so in any event it means a progressive step in his spiritual development. Cf. *A. J. Pietilä,* Kristillinen dogmatiikka III, Helsinki, 1932, p. 328.

[64] The author of this study has not succeeded in seeing those either. — Cf. *Frick,* op. cit., p. 121.

CHAPTER NINE

[1] Rabbi Joshua I,430, as quoted by *Milman*, op. cit. III, 361 et seq.

[2] *Hauser*, op. cit., p. 317.

[3] W. A. 11,315.

[4] Cf. *C. G. Montefiore*, Jewish Views on Jewish Missions. Papers for Jewish People. No. XXXI. London, 1933. P. 19 et seq.

[5] Luther said: "Nam cum audissent nos illorum Hebreae linguae deditos esse, mox sperabant nos futuros proselytos. Idea aliqui ad me venerunt disputantes. Quibus respondi: Colimus quidem linguam vestram propter sacram scripturam, sed cultum vestrum floccifacimus, neque speretis nos vobis astipulaturos." W. A. T. R. 3,370.

[6] *Feilchenfeld*, op. cit., pp. 180—184.

[7] Ibid, p. 133.

[8] W. A. 54,17. Cf. *Lowenthal*, op. cit., p. 162 et seq.

[9] *Feilchenfeld*, op. cit., p. 135.

[10] W. A. 53,574.

[11] The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir (ed. princeps in Venice, 1554), II,337 et seq.

[12] Cf. *Milman*, op. cit. II,337.

[13] Ante, p. 121 et seq.

[14] W. A. T. R. 4,517 et seq.

[15] *Graetz*, op. cit. IX,243.

[16] "Der zwerghaft kleine, sehr magere und schwarze Mann, der ein verdorbenes Hebräisch spricht."

[17] *Winter, J., and Wünsche, Aug.*, Die jüdische Litteratur III, Berlin, 1897, p. 451 et seq. *Graetz*, op. cit., IX, 257—262.

[18] Cf. Qullen u. Forschungen zur Ref. Geschichte XIII, 929, 941 et seq., 947, 954.

[19] Joel 3:19.

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